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THE

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A VOYAGE (ROUND THE) WORLD,

In the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV,

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

Now LORD ANSON,

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the *South Seas*.

COMPILED

From his PAPERS and MATERIALS,

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

Chaplain of His MAJESTY's Ship the *Centurion*, in that Expedition.

With CHARTS of the Southern Part of *South America*, of Part of the *Pacific Ocean*, and of the Track of the *Centurion* round the World.

The THIRTEENTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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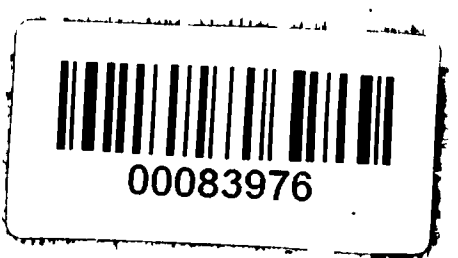
Advertiſement.

THE Plates in the Quarto Edition being too numerous and large to be folded in a Twelves Volume, it has been thought proper to inſert only two Charts, of the moſt general Uſe, together with an additional Chart, ſhewing the Track of the *Centurion* round the World. But the Reader is deſired to take Notice, that the References to all the Plates are continued in this Edition; and complete Sets of them are ſold at 7 *s.* 6 *d.* each in boards.



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TO

HIS GRACE,

JOHN,

Duke of BEDFORD, Marquis of TAVISTOCK, Earl of BEDFORD, Baron RUSSEL, Baron RUSSEL of THORNHAUGH, and Baron HOWLAND of STREATHAM;

One of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; and Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of BEDFORD.

My LORD,

THE following Narrative of a very ſingular naval atchievement is addreſſed to Your GRACE, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander in Chief at all times profeſſes to have received from your Friendſhip, and alſo as the ſubject of itſelf naturally claims the patronage of One under whoſe direction the *Britiſh* Navy has reſumed it's ancient Spirit and Luſtre, and has in one ſummer ennobled itſelf by two victories, the moſt deciſive, and (if the ſtrength and number of the captures be conſidered) the moſt important, that are to be met with in our Annals. Indeed, an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs, and a manifeſt ſuperiority gained univerſally over the enemy both in commerce and glory, ſeem to

be the neceſſary effects of a revival of ſtrict diſcipline, and of an unbiaſſed regard to merit and ſervice. Theſe are marks that muſt diſtinguiſh the happy period of time in which Your GRACE preſided, and afford a fitter ſubject for hiſtory than for an addreſs of this nature. Very ſignal advantages of rank and diſtinction, obtained and ſecured to the Naval Profeſſion by Your GRACE's auſpicious influence, will remain a laſting monument of Your unwearied zeal and attachment to it, and be for ever remembered with the higheſt gratitude by all who ſhall be employed in it. As theſe were the generous rewards of paſt exploits, they will be likewiſe the nobleſt incentives and ſureſt pledges of the future. That Your GRACE's eminent talents, magnanimity, and diſintereſted zeal, whence the Public has already reaped ſuch ſignal Benefits, may in all times prove equally ſucceſsful in advancing the proſperity of *Great Britain*, is the ardent wiſh of,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

Moſt obedient,

Moſt devoted, and

Moſt humble Servant,

RICHARD WALTER.

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INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

NOtwithſtanding the great improvement of Navigation within the laſt two Centuries, a Voyage round the World is ſtill conſidered as an enterprize of ſo very ſingular a nature, that the Public have never failed to be extremely inquiſitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended. And though the amuſement expected in theſe narrations is doubtleſs one great ſource of that curioſity, with the bulk of readers; yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that from accounts of this nature, if faithfully executed, the more important purpoſes of Navigation, Commerce, and National intereſt may be greatly promoted: for every authentic deſcription of foreign coaſts and countries will contribute to one or more of theſe great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of thoſe countries, and our ignorance of thoſe coaſts; and therefore a Voyage round the World promiſes a ſpecies of information of all others the moſt deſirable and intereſting: ſince great part of it is performed in ſeas with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the ſame time ſtigmatiſed for its poverty in the neceſſaries and conveniencies of a civilized life.

Theſe conſiderations have occaſioned the compiling the enſuing work; which, in gratifying the inquiſitive diſpoſition of mankind, and contributing to the ſafety and ſucceſs of future navigators, and to the extenſion of our commerce and power, may doubtleſs vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public: Since, as to the firſt of theſe heads, it may well be ſuppoſed that the general curioſity hath been ſtrongly excited, by the circumſtances of this undertaking already known to the world: for whether we conſider the force of the ſquadron ſent on this ſervice, or the diverſified diſtreſſes that each ſingle ſhip was ſeparately involved in, or

the uncommon inſtances of varying fortune which attended the whole enterprize, each of theſe articles, I conceive, muſt, from its rude, well-known outlines, appear worthy of a compleater and more finiſhed delineation: And if this be allowed with reſpect to the narrative part of the work, there can be no doubt about the more uſeful and inſtructive parts, which are almoſt every where interwoven with it; for I can venture to affirm, without fear of being contradicted on a compariſon, that no voyage hitherto publiſhed furniſhes ſuch a number of views of land, ſoundings, draughts of roads and ports, charts, and other materials, for the improvement of Geography and Navigation, as are contained in the enſuing volume; which are the more valuable too, as the greateſt part of them relate to ſuch Iſlands or Coaſts as have been hitherto not at all or erroneouſly deſcribed, and where the want of ſufficient and authentic information might occaſion future enterprizes to prove abortive, perhaps with the deſtruction of the ſhips and men employed therein.

And beſides the number and choice of theſe marine drawings and deſcriptions, there is another very eſſential circumſtance belonging to them, which much enhances their worth; and that is, the great accuracy with which they were executed. I ſhall expreſs my opinion of them in this particular very imperfectly, when I ſay that they are not exceeded, and perhaps not equaled, by any thing of this nature which hath as yet been communicated to the world: for they were not copied from the works of others, or compoſed at home from imperfect accounts, given by incurious and unſkilful obſervers (a practice too frequent in theſe matters); but the greateſt part of them was delineated on the ſpot, with the utmoſt exactneſs, by the direction, and under the eye, of Mr. *Anſon* himſelf; and where (as is the caſe in three or four of them) they have been done by leſs ſkilful hands, or were found in poſſeſſion of the enemy, and conſequently their juſtneſs could be leſs relied on, I have always taken care to apprize the reader of it, and to put him on his guard againſt giving entire credit to them; although I doubt not but theſe leſs authentic draughts, thus cautiouſly inſerted, are to the full as correct as thoſe which are uſually publiſhed on theſe occaſions: for as actual ſurveys of roads and harbours, and nice and critical delineations of views of land, take up much time and attention, and require a good degree of ſkill both in planning and drawing, thoſe who

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are defective in industry and ability supply these wants by bold conjectures and fictitious descriptions; and as they can be no otherwise confuted than by going on the spot, and running the risque of suffering by their misinformation, they have no apprehensions of being detected; and therefore, when they intrude their supposititious productions on the public, they make no conscience of boasting at the same time, with how much skill and care they are performed. But let not those who are unacquainted with naval affairs imagine, that impositions of this kind are of an innocent nature; for as exact views of land are the surest guide to a seaman on a coast where he has never been before, all fictions in so interesting a matter must be attended with numerous dangers, and sometimes with the destruction of those who are thus unhappily deceived.

Besides these draughts of such places as Mr. *Anson* or the ships under his command have touched at in the course of this expedition, and the descriptions and directions relating thereto, there is inserted, in the ensuing work, an ample account, with a chart annexed to it, of a particular navigation, of which hitherto little more than the name has been known, except to those immediately employed in it: I mean the track described by the *Manila* ship, in her passage to *Acapulco*, through the northern part of the *Pacific* Ocean. This material article is collected from the draughts and journals met with on board the *Manila* galeon, founded on the experience of more than an hundred and fifty years practice, and corroborated in its principal circumstances by the concurrent evidence of all the *Spanish* prisoners taken in that vessel. And as many of their journals, which I have examined, appear to have been not ill kept; I presume a chart of that northern Ocean, and the particulars of their route through it, may be very safely relied on by future Navigators. The advantages which may be drawn from an exact knowledge of this navigation, and the beneficial projects that may be formed thereon, both in war and peace, are by no means proper to be discussed in this place: but they will easily offer themselves to the skilful in maritime affairs. However, as the *Manila* ships are the only ones which have ever traversed this vast ocean, except a *French* straggler or two, which have been afterwards seized on the coast of *Mexico*, and as, during near two ages, in which this trade has been carried on, the *Spaniards* have, with the greatest

care, ſecreted all accounts of their voyages from the reſt of the world; theſe reaſons alone would authorize the inſertion of thoſe papers, and would recommend them to the inquiſitive, as a very great improvement in Geography, and worthy of attention from the ſingularity of many circumſtances therein recited. I muſt add too (what in my opinion is far from being the leaſt recommendation of theſe materials) that the obſervation of the variation of the compaſs in that Ocean, which are laid down in the chart from theſe *Spaniſh* journals, tend greatly to compleat the general ſyſtem of the magnetic variation, of infinite import to the commercial and ſeafaring part of mankind. Theſe obſervations were, though in vain, often publickly called for by our learned countryman the late Dr. *Halley*; and, to his immortal reputation, they confirm, as far as they extend, the wonderful hypotheſis he had entertained on this head, and very nearly correſpond in their quantity to the predictions he publiſhed above fifty years ſince, long before he was acquainted with any one obſervation made in thoſe ſeas. The aſcertaining the variation in that part of the world is juſt now too of more than ordinary conſequence, as the Editors of a new Variation-chart, lately publiſhed, have, for want of proper information, been miſled by an erroneous analogy, and have miſtaken the very ſpecies of variation in that northern Ocean; for they make it weſterly where it is eaſterly, and have laid it down 12° or 13° different from its real quantity.

Thus much it has been thought neceſſary to premiſe, with regard to the Hydographical and Geographical part of the enſuing work; which it is hoped the reader will, on peruſal, find much ampler and more important than this ſlight ſketch can well explain. But as there are hereafter occaſionally interſperſed ſome accounts of *Spaniſh* tranſactions, and many obſervations relating to the diſpoſition of the *American Spaniards*, and to the condition of the countries bordering on the *South-Seas*, and as herein I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally eſtabliſhed; I think it behoves me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by in theſe matters, that I may not be cenſured, as having given way either to a thoughtleſs credulity on one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate miſrepreſentation on the other.

Mr. *Anſon*, before he ſet ſail upon this expedition, beſides the printed journals to thoſe parts, took care to furniſh himſelf

ſelf with the beſt manuſcript accounts he could procure of all the *Spaniſh* ſettlements upon the coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*: Theſe he carefully compared with the examinations of his priſoners, and the informations of ſeveral intelligent perſons, who fell into his hands in the *South-Seas*. He had likewiſe the good fortune, in ſome of his captures, to poſſeſs himſelf of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the viceroy of *Peru* to the Viceroy of *Santa Fee*, to the Preſidents of *Panama* and *Chili*, to Don *Blas de Lezo*, admiral of the galeons, and to divers other perſons in conſiderable employments; and in theſe letters there was uſually inſerted a recital of thoſe they were intended to anſwer; ſo that they contained no ſmall part of the correſpondence between thoſe officers for ſome time previous to our arrival on that coaſt: We took, beſides, many letters ſent from perſons entruſted by the *Spaniſh* Government to their friends and correſpondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public buſineſs, and ſometimes contained undiſguiſed animadverſions on the views and conduct of their ſuperiors. From theſe materials thoſe accounts of the *Spaniſh* affairs are drawn, which may at firſt ſight appear the moſt exceptionable. In particular, the hiſtory of the various caſualties which befel *Pizarro*'s ſquadron, is for the moſt part compoſed from intercepted letters. Though indeed the relation of the inſurrection of *Orellana* and his followers is founded on a rather leſs diſputable authority; for it was taken from the mouth of an *Engliſh* Gentleman then on board *Pizarro*, who often converſed with *Orellana*; and it was, upon enquiry, confirmed in its principal circumſtances by others who were in the ſhip at the ſame time: ſo that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be conteſted.

And on this occaſion I cannot but mention that, though I have endeavoured, with my utmoſt care, to adhere ſtrictly to truth in every article of the enſuing narration; yet I am apprehenſive that, in ſo complicated a work, ſome overſights muſt have been committed, by the inattention to which at times all mankind are liable. However, I am as yet conſcious of none but literal and inſignificant miſtakes: and if there are others more conſiderable, which have eſcaped me; I flatter myſelf they are not of moment enough to affect any material tranſactions, and therefore I hope they may juſtly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the enſuing work, it might be expected, perhaps, that I ſhould proceed to the work itſelf; but I cannot finiſh this introduction, without adding a few reflections on a matter very nearly connected with the preſent ſubject, and, as I conceive, neither deſtitute of utility, nor unworthy the attention of the public; I mean the animating my countrymen, both in their public and private ſtations, to the encouragement and purſuit of all kinds of geographical and nautical obſervations, and of every ſpecies of mechanical and commercial information. It is by a ſettled attachment to theſe ſeemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have eſtabliſhed ſome part of that power with which we are now ſtruggling: and as we have the means in our hands of purſuing theſe ſubjects more effectually than they can, it would be a diſhonour to us longer to neglect ſo eaſy and beneficial a practice; for, as we have a Navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very diſtant nations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in aſſiſting our allies againſt the common enemy; this gives us frequent opportunities of furniſhing ourſelves with ſuch kind of materials as are here recommended, and ſuch as might turn greatly to our advantage, either in war or peace: ſince, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the Navy, if their application to theſe ſubjects was properly encouraged, it would create no new expence to the Government to eſtabliſh a particular regulation for this purpoſe; as all that would be requiſite, would be conſtantly to embark on board ſome of our men of war, which are ſent on theſe diſtant cruizes, a perſon, who, with the character of an engineer, and the ſkill and talents neceſſary to that profeſſion, ſhould be employed in drawing ſuch coaſts, and planning ſuch harbours, as the ſhip ſhould touch at, and in making ſuch other obſervations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future Navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the public ſervice. Perſons habituated to theſe operations (which could not fail at the ſame time of improving them in their proper buſineſs) would be extremely uſeful in many other lights beſides thoſe already mentioned, and might tend to ſecure our fleets from thoſe diſgraces with which their attempts againſt places on ſhore have been often attended: and, in a nation like ours, where all ſciences are more eagerly and univerſally purſued,

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and better underſtood, than in any other part of the world; proper ſubjects for theſe employments could not long be wanting, if due encouragement were given to them. This method here recommended is known to have been frequently practiſed by the *French*; particularly in the inſtance of Monſ. *Frazier*, an Engineer, who has publiſhed a celebrated voyage to the *South Seas*: for this perſon, in the year 1711, was purpoſely ſent by the *French* King into that country on board a merchantman, that he might examine and deſcribe the coaſt, and take plans of all the fortified places; the better to enable the *French* to proſecute their illicit trade, or, on a rupture between them and the court of *Spain*, to form their enterprizes in thoſe ſeas with more readineſs and certainty. Should we purſue this method, we might hope that the emulation amongſt thoſe who were commiſſioned for theſe undertakings, and the experience which, even in the moſt peaceable intervals, they would hereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able Engineers, and might efface the national ſcandal, which our deficiency in that ſpecies of men has ſometimes expoſed us to: and ſurely, every ſtep to encourage and improve them, is of great moment to the public; as no perſons, when they are properly inſtructed, make better returns in war, for the diſtinctions and emoluments beſtowed on them in time of peace; of which the advantages the *French* have reaped from their dexterity (too numerous and recent to be ſoon forgot) are an ample confirmation.

And having mentioned Engineers, or ſuch as are ſkilled in drawing, and the other uſual practices of that profeſſion, as the propereſt perſons to be employed in theſe foreign enquiries, I cannot (as it offers itſelf ſo naturally to the ſubject in hand) but lament how very imperfect many of our accounts of diſtant countries are rendered by the relators being unſkilled in drawing, and in the general principles of ſurveying; even where other abilities have not been wanting. Had more of our travelers been initiated in theſe acquirements, and had there been added thereto ſome little ſkill in the common aſtronomical obſervations (all which a perſon of ordinary talents might attain, with a very moderate ſhare of application), we ſhould by this time have ſeen the geography of the globe much correcter than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been conſiderably leſſened; and the manners, arts, and produce of foreign countries,

would have been better known to us than they are. Indeed, when I conſider the ſtrong incitements that all travelers have to purſue ſome part at leaſt of theſe qualifications, eſpecially drawing; when I conſider how much it will facilitate their obſervations, aſſiſt and ſtrengthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible, a load of deſcription it would rid them; I cannot but wonder that any perſon, who intends to viſit diſtant countries, with a view of informing either himſelf or others, ſhould be wanting in ſo neceſſary a piece of ſkill. And to inforce this argument ſtill further, I muſt add, that, beſides the uſes of drawing already mentioned, there is one, which, though not ſo obvious, is yet perhaps of more conſequence than all that has been hitherto urged; I mean, the ſtrength and diſtinguiſhing power it adds to ſome of our faculties. This appears from hence, that thoſe who are uſed to draw objects obſerve them with more accuracy than others who are not habituated to that practice; for we may eaſily find, by a little experience, that when we view any object, however ſimple, our attention or memory is ſcarcely at any time ſo ſtrong, as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect exactly every part it conſiſted of, and to recall all the circumſtances of its appearance; ſince, on examination, it will be diſcovered, that in ſome we were miſtaken, and others we had totally overlooked: but he that is accuſtomed to draw what he ſees, is at the ſame time accuſtomed to rectify this inattention; for, by confronting his ideas copied on the paper with the object he intends to repreſent, he finds out what circumſtances has deceived him in its appearance; and hence he at length acquires the habit of obſerving much more at one view, and retains what he ſees with more correctneſs, than he could ever have done without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been ſaid merits the attention of travelers of all ſorts, it is, I think, more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the Navy; ſince, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of land can be taken; and without theſe it is ſufficiently evident that navigation is at a full ſtand. It is doubtleſs from a perſuaſion of the utility of theſe qualifications, that his Majeſty has eſtabliſhed a Drawing-maſter at *Portſmouth*, for the inſtruction of thoſe who are preſumed to be hereafter intruſted with the command of his Royal Navy: And though ſome have been ſo far

far miſled, as to ſuppoſe that the perfection of Sea-officers conſiſted in a turn of mind and temper reſembling the boiſterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and ſcience as effeminate, and derogatory to that ferocity which, they would falſely perſuade us, was the moſt unerring characteriſtic of courage: yet it is to be hoped that ſuch abſurdities as theſe have at no time been authoriſed by the public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminiſhes. If thoſe who adhere to theſe miſchievous poſitions were capable of being influenced by reaſon, or ſwayed by example, I ſhould think it ſufficient for their conviction, to obſerve, that the moſt valuable drawings referred to in the following work, though done with ſuch a degree of ſkill that even profeſſed artiſts can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr. *Piercy Brett*, one of Mr. *Anſon's* Lieutenants, and ſince captain of the *Lion* man of war; who, in his memorable engagement with the *Elizabeth* (for the importance of the ſervice, or the reſolution with which it was conducted, inferior to none this age has ſeen), has given ample proof, that a proficiency in the arts I have been here recommending is extremely conſiſtent with the moſt exemplary bravery, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſkill in every function belonging to the duty of a Sea-officer. Indeed, when the many branches of ſcience are attended to, of which even the common practice of navigation is compoſed, and the many improvements which men of ſkill have added to this practice within theſe few years, it would induce one to believe, that the advantages of reflection and ſpeculative knowledge were in no profeſſion more eminent than in that of a ſea-officer: for, not to mention ſome expertneſs in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy, which it would be diſhonourable for him to be without (as his journal and his eſtimate of the daily poſition of the ſhip are founded on particular branches of theſe arts), it may be well ſuppoſed, that the management and working of a ſhip, the diſcovery of her moſt eligible poſition in the water (uſually ſtiled her Trim), and the diſpoſition of her ſails in the moſt advantageous manner, are articles wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly aſſiſtant. And perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge to naval ſubjects may produce as great improvements in ſailing and working a ſhip, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the eaſe and convenience of human life. Since,

when the fabric of a ſhip and the variety of her ſails are conſidered, together with the artificial contrivances for adapting them to her different motions; as it cannot be doubted but theſe things have been brought about by more than ordinary ſagacity and invention, ſo neither can it be doubted but that in ſome conjunctures a ſpeculative and ſcientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and diſpoſing this complicated mechaniſm, much more advantageouſly than can be done by mere habit, or by a ſervile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneouſly practiſed in ſimilar emergencies. But it is time to finiſh this digreſſion, and to leave the reader to the peruſal of the enſuing work; which, with how little art ſoever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the ſubject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit ſome ſhare of the public attention.

A VOYAGE

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD.

By GEORGE ANSON, Esq;
(Now LORD ANSON)

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his MAJESTY's Ships.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the equipment of the squadron: The incidents relating thereto, from its first appointment, to its setting sail from St. Helen's.

THE Squadron under the Command of Mr. *Anson* (of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings) having undergone many changes in its destination, its force and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final sailing from *St. Helen's*; I conceive the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the justification of those who have been entrusted with its execution; since it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards exposed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the strength of the squadron and the

expectation of the public ſeemed to preſage, were principally owing to a ſeries of interruptions, which delayed the Commander in the courſe of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmoſt induſtry either to avoid or to get removed.

When, in the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1739, it was foreſeen that a war with *Spain* was inevitable, it was the opinion of ſome conſiderable perſons then truſted with the Adminiſtration of affairs, that the moſt prudent ſtep the Nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that Crown in her diſtant ſettlements; for by this means (as at that time there was the greateſt probability of ſucceſs) it was ſuppoſed that we ſhould cut off the principal reſources of the enemy, and ſhould reduce them to the neceſſity of ſincerely deſiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treaſure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In purſuance of theſe ſentiments, ſeveral projects were examined, and ſeveral reſolutions were taken by the council. And in all theſe deliberations it was from the firſt determined, that *George Anſon*, Eſq; then Captain of the *Centurion*, ſhould be employed as Commander in Chief of an expedition of this kind: And he at that time being abſent on a cruize, a veſſel was diſpatched to his ſtation ſo early as the beginning of *September*, to order him to return with his ſhip to *Portſmouth*. And ſoon after he came there, that is, on the 10th of *November* following, he received a letter from Sir *Charles Wager*, directing him to repair to *London*, and to attend the board of Admiralty; where when he arrived, he was informed by Sir *Charles*, that two Squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two ſecret expeditions, which however would have ſome connexion with each other: That he, Mr. *Anſon*, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. *Cornwall* (who hath ſince loſt his life gloriouſly in the defence of his Country's honour) the other: That the ſquadron under Mr. *Anſon* was to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and *Bland's* regiment of foot: That Colonel *Bland* was likewiſe to embark with his regiment, and to command the land-forces: And that, as ſoon as this ſquadron could be fitted for the ſea, they were to ſet ſail, with expreſs orders to touch at no place till they came to *Java Head* in the *Eaſt-Indies*: That there they were only to ſtop to take in water,

and

and thence to proceed directly to the city of *Manila*, situated on *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Islands: That the other squadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. *Anſon*, and was intended to paſs round Cape *Horn* into the *South Seas*, to range along that coaſt; and, after cruizing upon the enemy in thoſe parts, and attempting their ſettlements, this ſquadron in its return was to rendezvous at *Manila*, there to join the ſquadron under Mr. *Anſon*, where they were to refreſh their men, and refit their ſhips, and perhaps receive orders for other conſiderable enterprizes.

This ſcheme was doubtleſs extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the Public Service, and the reputation and fortune of thoſe concerned in its execution; for had Mr. *Anſon* proceeded for *Manila* at the time and in the manner propoſed by Sir *Charles Wager*, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and *Spain*, and conſequently before they had been in the leaſt prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehenſions of their danger. The city of *Manila* might be well ſuppoſed to have been at that time in the ſame defenceleſs condition with all the other *Spaniſh* ſettlements, juſt at the breaking out of the war: that is to ſay, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon diſmounted, or rendered uſeleſs by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military ſtores or proviſion, all empty; their garriſons unpaid, and conſequently thin, ill-affected, and diſpirited; and the royal cheſts in *Peru*, whence alone all theſe diſorders could receive their redreſs, drained to the very bottom: This, from the intercepted letters of their Viceroys and Governors, is well known to have been the defenceleſs ſtate of *Panama*, and the other *Spaniſh* places on the coaſt of the *South Sea*, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war. And it cannot be ſuppoſed that the city of *Manila*, removed ſtill farther by almoſt half the circumference of the globe, ſhould have experienced from the *Spaniſh* Government a greater ſhare of attention and concern for its ſecurity, than *Panama*, and the other important ports in *Peru* and *Chili*, on which their poſſeſſion of that immenſe empire depends. Indeed, it is well known that *Manila* was at that time incapable of making any conſiderable defence, and in all probability would have ſurrendered only on the appearance of our ſquadron before it.

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The conſequence of this city, and the iſland it ſtands on, may be in ſome meaſure eſtimated, from the known healthineſs of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extenſive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the *Eaſt Indies* and *China*, and its excluſive trade to *Acapulco*: the returns for which, being made in ſilver, are, upon the loweſt valuation, not leſs than three millions of dollars *per annum*.

On this ſcheme Sir *Charles Wager* was ſo intent, that, in a few days after this firſt conference, that is, on *November* 18, Mr. *Anſon* received an order to take under his command the *Argyle*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, and *Tryal* Sloop; and other orders were iſſued to him in the ſame month, and in the *December* following, relating to the victualing of this ſquadron. But Mr. *Anſon* attending the Admiralty the beginning of *January*, he was informed by Sir *Charles Wager*, that, for reaſons with which he (Sir *Charles*) was not acquainted, the expedition to *Manila* was laid aſide. It may be conceived, that Mr. *Anſon* was extremely chagrined at the loſing the command of ſo infallible, ſo honourable, and, in every reſpect, ſo deſirable an enterprize; eſpecially too as he had already, at a very great expence, made the neceſſary proviſion for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reaſon to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir *Charles*, to render this diſappointment in ſome degree more tolerable, informed him, that the expedition to the *South Seas* was ſtill intended, and that he (Mr. *Anſon*) and his ſquadron, as their firſt deſtination was now countermanded, ſhould be employed in that ſervice. And, on the 10th of *January*, he received his commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief of the forementioned ſquadron, which (the *Argyle* being in the courſe of their preparation changed for the *Glouceſter*) was the ſame he ſailed with above eight months after from *St. Helen's*. On this change of deſtination, the equipment of the ſquadron was ſtill proſecuted with as much vigour as ever; and the victualing, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was ſoon ſo far advanced, that he conceived the ſhips might be capable of putting to ſea the inſtant he ſhould receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at laſt, on the 28th of *June* 1740, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him his Majeſty's inſtructions, dated

dated *January* 31, 1739, with an additional inſtruction from the Lords Juſtices, dated *June* 19, 1740. On the receipt of theſe, Mr. *Anſon* immediately repaired to *Spithead*, with a reſolution to ſail with the firſt fair wind, flattering himſelf that all his difficulties were now at an end: for, though he knew, by the muſters, that his ſquadron wanted three hundred ſeamen of their complement (a deficiency which, with all his aſſiduity, he had not been able to get ſupplied); yet, as Sir *Charles Wager* informed him, that an order from the Board of Admiralty was diſpatched to Sir *John Norris*, to ſpare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But, on his arrival at *Portſmouth*, he found himſelf greatly miſtaken and diſappointed in this perſuaſion: for, on his application, Sir *John Norris* told him, he could ſpare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occaſioned an inevitable and a very conſiderable delay; for it was the end of *July* before this deficiency was by any means ſupplied, and all that was then done was extremely ſhort of his neceſſities and expectation: for Admiral *Balchen*, who ſucceeded to the command at *Spithead*, after Sir *John Norris* had ſailed to the weſtward, inſtead of three hundred able ſailors, which Mr. *Anſon* wanted of his complement, ordered on board the ſquadron a hundred and ſeventy men only, of which thirty-two were from the hoſpital and ſick-quarter, thirty-ſeven from the *Saliſbury*, with three officers of Colonel *Lowther's* regiment, and ninety-eight marines; and theſe were all that were ever granted to make up the fore-mentioned deficiency.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already obſerved, that it was at firſt intended that Colonel *Bland's* regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, ſhould embark as land-forces on board the ſquadron. But this diſpoſition was now changed; and all the land-forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids, to be collected from the out-penſioners of *Chelſea* College. As theſe out-penſioners conſiſt of ſoldiers, who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of ſervice in marching regiments, Mr. *Anſon* was greatly chagrined at having ſuch a decrepid detachment allotted him; for he was fully perſuaded that the greateſt part of them would periſh long before they arrived at the ſcene of action, ſince the delays he had already encountered

encountered neceſſarily confined his paſſage round *Cape Horn* to the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year. Sir *Charles Wager* too joined in opinion with the Commodore, that invalids were no ways proper for this ſervice, and ſolicited ſtrenuouſly to have them exchanged. But he was told, that perſons who were ſuppoſed to be better judges of ſoldiers than he or Mr. *Anſon* thought them the propereſt men that could be employed on this occaſion: and, upon this determination, they were ordered on board the ſquadron on the 5th of *Auguſt*. But, inſtead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine: for all thoſe who had limbs and ſtrength to walk out of *Portſmouth* deſerted, leaving behind them only ſuch as were literally invalids, moſt of them being ſixty years of age, and ſome of them upwards of ſeventy. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more moving ſcene than the embarkation of theſe unhappy veterans: they were themſelves extremely averſe to the ſervice they were engaged in, and fully appriſed of all the diſaſters they were afterwards expoſed to; the apprehenſions of which were ſtrongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no ſmall degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repoſe into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the ſtrength of their bodies nor the vigour of their minds were any ways proportioned; and where, without ſeeing the face of an enemy, or in the leaſt promoting the ſucceſs of the enterprize, they would in all probability uſeleſsly periſh by lingering and painful diſeaſes; and this too after they had ſpent the activity and ſtrength of their youth in their Country's ſervice.

I cannot but obſerve, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diſeaſed detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in, that, amongſt all the out-penſioners of *Chelſea* Hoſpital, which were ſuppoſed to amount to two thouſand men, the moſt crazy and infirm only ſhould be culled out for ſo laborious and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known, that however unfit invalids in general might be for this ſervice; yet, by a prudent choice, there might have been found amongſt them five hundred men who had ſome remains of vigour left; and Mr. *Anſon* fully expected that the beſt of them would have been allotted him: whereas the whole detachment that was ſent to him ſeemed to be made up of the

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moſt decrepid and miſerable objects that could be collected out of the whole body; and, by the deſertion above mentioned, theſe were a ſecond time cleared of that little health and ſtrength which were to be found amongſt them, and he was to take up with ſuch as were much fitter for an infirmary than for any military duty.

And here it is neceſſary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this ſquadron. It was propoſed to Mr. *Anſon*, after it was reſolved that he ſhould be ſent to the *South Seas*, to take with him two perſons, under the denomination of Agent-victualers. Thoſe who were mentioned for his employment had formerly been in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, in the *South Sea* Company's ſervice; and it was ſuppoſed, that, by their knowledge and intelligence on that coaſt, they might often procure proviſions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. Theſe Agent-victualers were, for this purpoſe, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000*l.* in merchandize on board the ſquadron: for they had repreſented, that it would be much eaſier for them to procure proviſions with goods, than with the value of the ſame goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this ſcheme, it was difficult to perſuade the generality of mankind that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the Agents, by the beneficial commerce they propoſed to carry on upon that coaſt. Mr. *Anſon* from the beginning objected both to the appointment of Agent-victualers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the ſquadron; for he conceived, that in thoſe few amicable ports where the ſquadron might touch, he needed not their aſſiſtance to contract for any proviſions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coaſt, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the neceſſaries he ſhould want, unleſs, which he was reſolved not to comply with, the military operations of his ſquadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the government ought to have done on this occaſion was, to put on board to the value of 2 or 3000*l.* only of ſuch goods, as the *Indians*, or the *Spaniſh* Planters in the leſs cultivated part of the coaſt, might be tempted with; ſince it was in ſuch places only, that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for proviſions; and, in theſe places, it was ſufficiently evident, a very ſmall cargo would ſuffice.

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But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers and to their project, of the success of which he had no opinion; yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualing the squadron, might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons: and, of the 15,000*l.* which was to be the amount of their cargo, the government agreed to advance them 10,000 upon impress, and the remaining 5000 they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this sum were all that were taken to sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the *Wager* store-ship, and one of the victualers; no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But, when the Commodore was at *St. Catharine's*, he considered, that, in case the squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions, for want of a cargo to truck with; and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men of war, leaving the remainder principally on board the *Wager*, where it was lost; and more of the goods perishing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being disposed of upon the coast, the few that came home to *England* did not produce, when sold, above a fourth part of the original price: so true was the Commodore's judgment of the event of this project, which had been by many considered as infallibly productive of immense gains. But to return to the transactions at *Portsmouth*

To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids which had deserted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments. These were raw and undisciplined men; for they were just raised, and had scarcely any thing more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of *August*, and on the 10th the squadron sailed from *Spithead* to *St. Helen's*, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But

But the delays we had already ſuffered had not yet ſpent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a ſeaſon of the year when the weſterly winds are uſually very conſtant and very violent; and it was thought proper that we ſhould put to ſea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral *Balchen*, and the expedition under Lord *Cathcart*. As we made up in all twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty-four ſail of merchantmen and tranſports, we had no hopes of getting out of the Channel with ſo large a number of ſhips, without the continuance of a fair wind for ſome conſiderable time. This was what we had every day leſs and leſs reaſon to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; ſo that our golden dreams, and our ideal poſſeſſion of the *Peruvian* treaſures, grew each day more faint; and the difficulties and dangers of the paſſage round Cape *Horn*, in the winter ſeaſon, filled our imaginations in their room: for it was forty days, from our arrival at *St. Helen's*, to our final departure from thence; and even then, having orders to proceed without Lord *Cathcart*, we tided it down the Channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the diſpleaſing fatigue of often ſetting ſail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been ſometimes undergone in ſurrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair for the firſt time on the 23d of *Auguſt*, we got under ſail, and Mr. *Balchen* ſhewed himſelf truly ſolicitous to have proceeded to ſea; but the wind ſoon returning to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to *St. Helen's*, not without conſiderable hazard, and ſome damage received by two of the tranſports, who, in tacking, ran foul of each other. Beſides this, we made two or three more attempts to ſail, but without any better ſucceſs. And, on the 6th of *September*, being returned to an anchor at *St. Helen's*, after one of theſe fruitleſs efforts, the wind blew ſo freſh, that the whole fleet ſtruck their yards and topmaſts, to prevent driving: yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, the *Centurion* drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no ſmall danger of driving foul of the Prince *Frederick*, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, moored at a ſmall diſtance under our ſtern; though we happily eſcaped, by her driving at the ſame time, and ſo preſerving her diſtance: but we did not think ourſelves ſecure, till we at laſt let go the ſheet-anchor, which fortunately brought

brought us up. However, on the 9th of *September*, we were in some degree relieved from this lingering vexatious situation, by an order, which Mr. *Anson* received from the Lords Justices, to put to sea the first opportunity with his own squadron only, if Lord *Cathcart* should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our Commodore resolved to weigh and tide it down the Channel, as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate; and this might easily have been done full two months sooner, had the orders of the Admiralty for supplying us with seamen been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays mentioned in this narration. It is true, our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped by a subsequent order, which Mr. *Anson* received on the 12th of *September*: for, by that, he was required to take under his convoy the *St. Alban's*, with the *Turky* fleet, and to join the *Dragon* and the *Winchester*, with the *Straits* and the *American* trade, at *Torbay* or *Plymouth*, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convoy gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our passage to the *Madeiras*. However, Mr. *Anson*, now having the command himself, resolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the Channel with the first moderate weather; and, that the junction of his convoy might occasion as little loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to *Torbay*, that the fleets he was there to take under his care might be in a readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And at last, on the 18th of *September*, he weighed from *St. Helen's*; and, though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the Channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing chapter.

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this squadron, it is sufficiently obvious how different an aspect this expedition bore at its first appointment in the beginning of *January*, from what it had in the latter end of *September*, when it left the Channel; and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success, were diminished, by the various incidents which took place in that interval: for, instead of all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able (which the Commodore was at first promised), and having

having our numbers compleated to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our firſt crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwiſe made up to us, than by ſending us on board a hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt part compoſed of ſuch as were diſcharged from hoſpitals, or new-raiſed marines, who had never been at ſea before. And, in the land-forces allotted us, the change was ſtill more diſadvantageous: for there, inſtead of three independent companies of a hundred men each, and *Bland's* regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had only four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, one part of them incapable of action by their age and infirmities, and the other part uſeleſs by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminiſhing of the ſtrength of the ſquadron was not the greateſt inconveniency which attended theſe alterations; for the conteſts, repreſentations, and difficulties, which they continually produced (as we have above ſeen that in theſe caſes the authority of the admiralty was not always ſubmitted to), occaſioned a delay and waſte of time, which, in its conſequences, was the ſource of all the diſaſters to which this enterprize was afterwards expoſed: for by this means we were obliged to make our paſſage round Cape *Horn* in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year; whence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſquadron, the loſs of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total deſtruction. By this delay too, the enemy had been ſo well informed of our deſigns, that a perſon who had been employed in the *South Sea* Company's ſervice, and arrived from *Panama* three or four days before we left *Portſmouth*, was able to relate to Mr. *Anſon* moſt of the particulars of the deſtination and ſtrength of our ſquadron, from what he had learnt among the *Spaniards* before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumſtance: for we ſhall find, that, when the *Spaniards* (fully ſatisfied that our expedition was intended for the *South Seas*) had fitted out a ſquadron to oppoſe us, which had ſo far got the ſtart of us as to arrive before us off the iſland of *Madera*, the Commander of this ſquadron was ſo well inſtructed in the form and make of Mr. *Anſon's* broad pendant, and had imitated it ſo exactly, that he thereby decoyed the *Pearl*, one of our ſquadron, within gun-ſhot of him, before the Captain of the *Pearl* was able to diſcover his miſtake.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The paſſage from St. Helen's *to the Iſland of* Madera; *with a ſhort account of that Iſland, and of our ſtay there.*

ON the 18th of *September* 1740, the ſquadron, as we have obſerved in the preceding chapter, weighed from *St. Helen's* with a contrary wind, the Commodore propoſing to tide it down the Channel, as he dreaded leſs the inconveniencies he ſhould thereby have to ſtruggle with, than the riſk he ſhould run of ruining the enterprize by an uncertain and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The ſquadron allotted to this ſervice conſiſted of five men of war, a ſloop of war, and two victualing-ſhips. They were the *Centurion* of ſixty guns, four hundred men, *George Anſon*, Eſq; Commander; the *Glouceſter* of fifty guns, three hundred men, *Richard Norris* Commander; the *Severn* of fifty guns, three hundred men, the Honourable *Edward Legg* Commander; the *Pearl* of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, *Matthew Mitchel* Commander; the *Wager* of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and ſixty men, *Dandy Kidd* Commander; and the *Tryal* Sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the Honourable *John Murray* Commander; the two victualers were pinks, the largeſt of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burden. Theſe were to attend us till the proviſions we had taken on board were ſo far conſumed as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which when we had taken into our ſhips, they were to be diſcharged. Beſides the complement of men borne by the above-mentioned ſhips as their crews, there were embarked on board the ſquadron about four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces (as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter), which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Cracherode*. With this ſquadron, together with the *St. Alban's* and the *Lark*, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. *Anſon*, after weighing from *St. Helen's*, tided it down the Channel for the firſt forty-eight hours; and, on the 20th, in the morning, we diſcovered off the *Ram-Head* the *Dragon*, *Winchester*, *South-Sea-Caſtle*, and *Rye*, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy;

convoy; theſe we joined about noon the ſame day, our Commodore having orders to ſee them, together with the *St. Alban's* and *Lark*, as far into the ſea as their courſe and ours lay together. When we came in ſight of this laſt mentioned fleet, Mr. *Anſon* firſt hoiſted his broad pendant, and was ſaluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this laſt convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty ſail of merchantmen, conſiſting of the *Turky*, the *Straits*, and the *American* trade. Mr. *Anſon* the ſame day made a ſignal for all the Captains of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and ſailing inſtructions; and then, with a fair wind, we all ſtood towards the ſouth-weſt: and the next day at noon, being the 21ſt, we had run forty leagues from the *Ram-Head*. Being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extenſive, ordered Captain *Mitchel*, in the *Pearl*, to make ſail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his ſtation every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the *Wincheſter* and the *American* convoy made the concerted ſignal for leave to ſeparate, which being anſwered by the Commodore, they left us: as the *St. Alban's* and the *Dragon*, with the *Turky* and *Straits* convoy, did on the 29th. After which ſeparation, there remained in company only our own ſquadron and our two victualers, with which we kept on our courſe for the Iſland of *Madera*. But the winds were ſo contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our paſſage thither from *St. Helen's*, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a moſt unpleaſing circumſtance, productive of much diſcontent and ill-humour amongſt our people, of which thoſe only can have a tolerable idea who have had the experience of a like ſituation: for, beſides the peeviſhneſs and deſpondency, which foul and contrary winds and a lingering voyage never fail to create on all occaſions, we, in particular, had very ſubſtantial reaſons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment: ſince as we had departed from *England* much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almoſt all our hopes of ſucceſs in the chance of retrieving in ſome meaſure at ſea the time we had ſo unhappily waſted at *Spithead* and *St. Helen's*. However, at laſt, on *Monday*, *October* the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon

afternoon came to an anchor in *Madera-Road*, in forty fathom water; the *Brazen-Head* bearing from us E by S, the *Loo* N N W, and the great Church N N E. We had hardly let go our anchor, when an *Engliſh* privateer ſloop ran under our ſtern, and ſaluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And the next day, the Conſul of the Iſland viſiting the Commodore, we ſaluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This Iſland of *Madera*, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our *American* ſettlements for its excellent wines, which ſeem to be deſigned by Providence for the refreſhment of the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone. It is ſituated in a fine climate, in the latitude of 32 : 27 North; and in the longitude from *London* (by our different reckonings) of 18° ½ to 19° ½ Weſt, though laid down in the charts in 17°. It is compoſed of one continued hill, of a conſiderable height, extending itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt; the declivity of which, on the South ſide, is cultivated and interſperſed with vineyards; and, in the midſt of this ſlope, the Merchants have fixed their country-ſeats, which help to form a very agreeable proſpect. There is but one conſiderable town in the whole Iſland; it is named *Fonchiale*, and is ſeated on the South part of the Iſland, at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the ſea, it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, beſides a caſtle on the *Loo*, which is a rock ſtanding in the water at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore. *Fonchiale* is the only place of trade, and indeed the only place where it is poſſible for a boat to land: and even here, the beach is covered with large ſtones, and a violent ſurf continually beats upon it: ſo that the Commodore did not care to venture the ſhips long-boats to fetch the water off, there was ſo much danger of their being loſt; and therefore ordered the Captains of the ſquadron to employ *Portugueſe* boats on that ſervice.

We continued about a week at this Iſland, watering our ſhips, and providing the ſquadron with wine and other refreſhments. Here, on the 3d of *November*, Captain *Richard Norris* ſignified, by a letter to the Commodore, his deſire to quit his command on board the *Glouceſter*, in order to return to *England* for the recovery of his health. This requeſt the Commodore complied with; and thereupon was pleaſed to appoint Captain *Matthew Mitchell* to command the *Glouceſter* in his room, and to remove Captain *Kidd* from the

Wager

Wager to the *Pearl*, and Captain *Murray* from the *Tryal* Sloop to the *Wager*, giving the command of the *Tryal* to Lieutenant *Cheap*. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the Lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the Captains their orders, appointing *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, to be the first place of rendezvous, in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the *Centurion* there, to make the best of their way to the Island of *St. Catharine's*, on the coast of *Brazil*. The water for the squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the Island of *Madera*. But, before I go on with the narration of our own transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr. *Anson* visited the Governor of *Madera*, he received information from him, that, for three or four days in the latter end of *October*, there had appeared to the westward of that Island seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache, which last was sent every day close in, to make the land. The Governor assured the Commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the Island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them; but that he believed them to be either *French* or *Spanish*, but was rather inclined to think them *Spanish*. On this intelligence, Mr. *Anson* sent an officer, in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were: but the officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition; which, had they cruized to the eastward of the island instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility: for, as in that case they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw over-board vast quantities of provisions, to clear our ships for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. And we therefore

ſuppoſed that this *French* or *Spaniſh* ſquadron was ſent out, upon advice of our ſailing in company with Admiral *Balchen* and Lord *Cathcart's* expedition; and thence, from an apprehenſion of being over-matched, they might not think it adviſeable to meet with us till we had parted company, which they might judge would not happen before our arrival at this Iſland. Theſe were our ſpeculations at that time; and from hence we had reaſon to ſuppoſe that we might ſtill fall in with them, in our way to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands. We afterwards, in the courſe of our expedition, were perſuaded that this was the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, commanded by Don *Joſeph Pizarro*, which was ſent out purpoſely to traverſe the views and enterprizes of our ſquadron, to which in ſtrength they were greatly ſuperior. As this *Spaniſh* armament then was ſo nearly connected with our expedition, and as the cataſtrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a conſiderable advantage to this nation, produced in conſequence of our equipment, I have, in the following chapter, given a ſummary account of their proceedings, from their firſt ſetting out from *Spain* in the year 1740, till the *Aſia*, the only ſhip of the whole ſquadron which returned to *Europe*, arrived at the *Groyne* in the beginning of the year 1746.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the Spaniſh *ſquadron commanded by Don* Joſeph Pizarro.

THE ſquadron fitted out by the Court of *Spain* to attend our motions, and traverſe our projects, we ſuppoſed to have been the ſhips ſeen off *Madera*, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. As this force was ſent out particularly againſt our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following hiſtory of the caſualties it met with, as far as by intercepted letters and other informations the ſame has come to my knowledge, is a very eſſential part of the preſent work. For hence it will appear, that we were the occaſion that a conſiderable part of the naval power of *Spain* was diverted from the proſecution of the ambitious views of that Court in *Europe*. And, whatever men and ſhips were loſt by the enemy in this undertaking, were loſt in conſequence

is eight miles, and the courſe from the entrance to *St. Antonio* is S. S. W. ½ W. About the middle of the Iſland the harbour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and, to defend this paſſage, a battery was erecting on the point of land on the Iſland ſide. But this ſeems to be a very uſeleſs work, as the channel has no more than two fathom water, and conſequently is navigable only for barks and boats; and therefore ſeems to be a paſſage that an enemy could have no inducement to attempt, eſpecially as the common paſſage at the North end of the Iſland is ſo broad and ſafe, that no ſquadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the ſea-breeze is made. However, the Brigadier Don *Joſe Sylva de Paz*, the Governor of this ſettlement, is eſteemed an expert Engineer, and he doubtleſs underſtands one branch of his buſineſs very well, which is, the advantages which new works bring to thoſe who are intruſted with the care of erecting them: for, beſides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The firſt of theſe, called *St. Juan*, is built on a point of *St. Catharine's* near *Parrot* Iſland; the ſecond, in form of a half moon, is on the Iſland of *St. Antonio*; and the third, which ſeems to be the chief, and has ſome appearance of a regular fortification, is on an Iſland near the continent, where the Governor reſides.

The ſoil of the Iſland is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of many kinds ſpontaneouſly; and the ground is covered over with one continued foreſt of trees, of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the ſoil, are ſo entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket abſolutely impenetrable, except by ſome narrow pathways, which the inhabitants have made, for their own convenience. Theſe, with a few ſpots cleared for plantations along the ſhore facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the Iſland. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and ſhrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almoſt without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty; ſo that here is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plaintains. There are beſides great abundance of two other productions, of no ſmall conſideration for a ſea-

ſtore,

ſtore, I mean onions and potatoes. The fleſh proviſions are however much inferior to the vegetables: there are indeed ſmall wild cattle to be purchaſed, ſomewhat like buffaloes; but theſe are very indifferent food, their fleſh being of a looſe contexture, and generally of a diſagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabaſh on which they feed. There are likewiſe great plenty of pheaſants, but they are not to be compared in taſte to thoſe we have in *England*. The other proviſions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and above all fiſh of various ſorts; theſe abound in the harbour, are exceeding good, and are eaſily catched, for there are a great number of ſmall ſandy bays very convenient for haling the *Seyne*.

The water, both on the Iſland and the oppoſite continent, is excellent, and preſerves at ſea as well that of the *Thames*; for, after it has been in a caſk a day or two, it begins to purge itſelf, and ſtinks moſt intolerably, and is ſoon covered over with a green ſcum: But this, in a few days, ſubſides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as cryſtal, and perfectly ſweet. The *French* (who, during their *South Sea* trade in Queen *Anne's* reign, firſt brought this place into repute) uſually wooded and watered in *Bon Port*, on the continent ſide, where they anchored with great ſafety in ſix fathom water; and this is doubtleſs the moſt commodious road for ſuch ſhips as intend to make only a ſhort ſtay. But we watered on the *St. Catharine's* ſide, at a plantation oppoſite to the Iſland of *St. Antonio*.

Theſe are the advantages of this Iſland of *St. Catharine's*; but there are many inconveniencies attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government eſtabliſhed there. With regard to the climate, it muſt be remembered, that the woods and hills which ſurround the harbour prevent a free circulation of the air; and the vigorous vegetation which conſtantly takes place there, furniſhes ſuch a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night and a great part of the morning a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the ſun gathers ſtrength to diſſipate it, or it is diſperſed by a briſk ſea-breeze. This renders the place cloſe and humid, and probably occaſioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To theſe exceptions I muſt not omit to add, that all the day we were peſtered with great numbers of muſcatoes, which are not much unlike the knats in *England*,

England, but more venomous in their ſtings. And at ſunſet, when the muſcatos retired, they were ſucceeded by an infinity of ſand-flies, which, though ſcarce diſcernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite, raiſe a ſmall bump in the fleſh, which is ſoon attended with a painful itching, like that ariſing from the bite of an *Engliſh* harveſt-bug. But as the only light in which this place deſerves our conſideration, is its favourable ſituation for ſupplying and refreſhing our cruizers intended for the *South-Seas*; in this view its greateſt inconveniencies remain ſtill to be related: and to do this more diſtinctly, it will not be amiſs to conſider the changes which it has lately undergone, both in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of *Frezier* and *Shelvocke*, this place ſerved only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of *Brazil*. They did indeed acknowledge a ſubjection to the crown of *Portugal*, and had a perſon among them, whom they called their captain, who was conſidered in ſome ſort as their governor: but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to their captain, ſeemed to be little more than verbal; for as they had plenty of proviſions, but no money, they were in a condition to ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of any neighbouring ſettlements, and had not amongſt them the means of tempting any adjacent governor to buſy his authority about them. In this ſituation, they were extremely hoſpitable and friendly to ſuch foreign ſhips as came amongſt them; for theſe ſhips wanting only proviſions, of which the natives had great ſtore; and the natives wanting clothes (for they often deſpiſed money, and refuſed to take it), which the ſhips furniſhed them with in exchange for their proviſions, both ſides found their account in this traffic; and their captain or governor had neither power nor intereſt to reſtrain it or to tax it. But of late (for reaſons which ſhall be hereafter mentioned) theſe honeſt vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongſt them a new colony, and to ſubmit to new laws and new forms of government. Inſtead of their former ragged bare-legged captain (whom however they took care to keep innocent), they have now the honour to be governed by Don *Joſe Sylva de Paz*, a Brigadier of the armies of *Portugal*. This gentleman has with him a garriſon of ſoldiers, and has conſequently a more extenſive and a better ſupported power than any of his predeceſſors; and

as he wears better cloaths, and lives more ſplendidly, and has beſides a much better knowledge of the importance of money than they could ever pretend to, ſo he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it, with which they were utterly unacquainted. But it may be much doubted if the inhabitants conſider theſe methods as tending to promote either their intereſts, or that of their Sovereign the king of *Portugal*. This is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be extremely embarraſſing to ſuch *Britiſh* ſhips as touch there in their way to the *South Seas*: for one of his practices was placing centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from ſelling us any refreſhments, except at ſuch exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary ſtretch of power was, that he was obliged to preſerve their proviſions for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. Hence he appears to be no novice in his profeſſion, by his readineſs at inventing a plauſible pretence for his intereſted management. However, this, though ſufficiently provoking, was far from being the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct; for, by the neighbourhood of the river *Plate*, a conſiderable ſmuggling traffic is carried on between the *Portugueſe* and the *Spaniards*, eſpecially in the exchanging gold for ſilver, by which both Princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce Don *Joſe* was ſo deeply engaged, that, in order to ingratiate himſelf with his *Spaniſh* correſpondents (for no other reaſon can be given for his procedure) he treacherouſly diſpatched an expreſs to *Buenos Ayres*, in the river of *Plate*, where *Pizarro* then lay, with an account of our arrival, and of the ſtrength of our ſquadron; particularly mentioning the number of ſhips, guns, and men, and every circumſtance which he could ſuppoſe our enemy deſirous of being acquainted with. And the ſame perfidy every *Britiſh* cruizer may expect, who touches at *St. Catharine's*, while it is under the Government of Don *Joſe Seva de Paz*.

Thus much, with what we ſhall be neceſſitated to relate in the courſe of our own proceedings, may ſuffice as to the preſent ſtate of *St. Catharine's*, and the character of its Governor. But as the reader may be deſirous of knowing to what cauſes the late new modeling of this ſettlement is owing; to ſatisfy him in this particular, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the adjacent continent of *Brazil*, and

and of the wonderful diſcoveries which have been made there within theſe laſt forty years, which, from a country of but mean eſtimation, has rendered it now perhaps the moſt conſiderable colony on the face of the globe.

This country was firſt diſcovered by *Americus Veſputio* a *Florentine*, who had the good fortune to be honoured with giving his name to the immenſe continent, ſome time before found out by *Columbus*. *Veſputio* being in the ſervice of the *Portugueſe*, it was ſettled and planted by that nation, and, with the other dominions of *Portugal*, devolved to the crown of *Spain*, when that kingdom became ſubject to it. During the long war between *Spain* and the ſtates of *Holland*, the *Dutch* poſſeſſed themſelves of the northermoſt part of *Brazil*, and were maſters of it for ſome years. But when the *Portugueſe* revolted from the *Spaniſh* Government, this country took part in the revolt, and ſoon repoſſeſſed themſelves of the places the *Dutch* had taken; ſince which time it has continued, without interruption, under the crown of *Portugal*, being, till the beginning of the preſent century, only productive of ſugar and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little account.

But this country, which for many years was only conſidered for the produce of its plantations, has been lately diſcovered to abound with the two minerals which mankind hold in the greateſt eſteem, and which they exert their utmoſt art and induſtry in acquiring; I mean, gold and diamonds. Gold was firſt found in the mountains which lie adjacent to the city of *Rio Janeiro*. The occaſion of its diſcovery is variouſly related; but the moſt common account is, that the *Indians*, lying on the back of the *Portugueſe* ſettlements, were obſerved, by the ſoldiers employed in an expedition againſt them, to make uſe of this metal for their fiſh-hooks; and their manner of procuring it being enquired into, it appeared that great quantities of it were annually waſhed from the hills, and left amongſt the ſand and gravel which remained in the vallies after the running off or evaporation of the water. It is now little more than forty years ſince any quantities of gold worth notice have been imported to *Europe* from *Brazil*; but ſince that time the annual imports from thence have been continually augmented by the diſcovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at firſt about *Rio Janeiro*. And it is now ſaid, that there is a ſmall ſlender vein of it ſpread

through all the country, at about twenty-four feet from the ſurface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to anſwer the expence of digging; however, where the rivers or rains have had any courſe for a conſiderable time, there gold is always to be collected, the water having ſeparated the metal from the earth, and depoſited it in the ſands, thereby ſaving the expences of digging: ſo that it it eſteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a ſtream from its channel, and to ranſack its bed. From this account of gathering this metal it ſhould follow, that there are properly no gold mines in *Brazil*; and this the Governor of *Rio Grande* (who, being at *St. Catharine's*, frequently viſited Mr. *Anſon*) did moſt confidently affirm, aſſuring us, that the gold was all collected either from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed aſſerted that, in the mountains, large rocks are found abounding with this metal; and I myſelf have ſeen the fragment of one of theſe rocks with a conſiderable lump of gold entangled in it; but, even in this caſe, the workmen break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expence in ſubſiſting among theſe mountains, and afterwards in ſeparating the metal from the ſtone, makes this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottoms of rivers, and the gullies of torrents, and the waſhing the gold found therein from the ſand and dirt with which it is always mixed, are works performed by ſlaves, who are principally negroes, kept in great numbers by the *Portugueſe* for theſe purpoſes. The regulation of the duty of theſe ſlaves is ſingular: for they are each of them obliged to furniſh their maſter with the eighth part of an ounce of gold *per diem*; and if they are either ſo fortunate or induſtrious as to collect a greater quantity, the ſurplus is conſidered as their own property, and they have the liberty of diſpoſing of it as they think fit; ſo that it is ſaid ſome negroes, who have accidentally fallen upon rich waſhing places, have themſelves purchaſed ſlaves, and have lived afterwards in great ſplendor, their original maſter having no other demand on them than the daily ſupply of the forementioned eighth; which, as the *Portugueſe* ounce is ſomewhat lighter than our troy ounce, may amount to about nine ſhillings ſterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the *Brazils*, and returned annually to *Liſbon*, may be in ſome degree eſtimated from

from the amount of the King's fifth. This hath of late been eſteemed, one year with another, to be one hundred and fifty arroves of 32 *lb. Portugueſe* weight each, which, at 4 *l.* the troy ounce, makes very near 300,000 *l.* ſterling; and conſequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half ſterling. It is obvious that the annual return of gold to *Liſbon* cannot be leſs than this, though it be difficult to determine how much it exceeds it; perhaps we may not be very much miſtaken in our conjecture, if we ſuppoſe the gold exchanged for ſilver with the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres*, and what is brought privily to *Europe*, and eſcapes the duty, amounts to near half a million more, which will make the whole annual produce of the *Braſilian* gold near two millions ſterling; a prodigious ſum to be found in a country, which a few years ſince was not known to furniſh a ſingle grain.

I have already mentioned, that, beſides gold, this country does likewiſe produce diamonds. The diſcovery of theſe valuable ſtones is much more recent than that of gold, it being as yet ſcarce twenty years ſince the firſt were brought to *Europe*. They are found in the ſame manner as the gold, in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and not ſo univerſally ſpread through the country. They were often found in waſhing the gold before they were known to be diamonds, and were conſequently thrown away with the ſand and gravel ſeparated from it. And it is very well remembered, that numbers of very large ſtones, which would have made the fortunes of the poſſeſſors, have paſſed unregarded through the hands of thoſe who now with impatience ſupport the mortifying reflexion. However, about twenty years ſince, a perſon acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds conceived that theſe pebbles, as they were then eſteemed, were of the ſame kind: but it is ſaid, that there was a conſiderable interval between the firſt ſtarting of this opinion and the confirmation of it by proper trials and examination, it proving difficult to perſuade the inhabitants, that what they had been long accuſtomed to deſpiſe could be of the importance repreſented by this diſcovery: and I have been informed, that, in this interval, a Governor of one or their places procured a good number of theſe ſtones, which he pretended to make uſe of at cards to mark with, inſtead of

counters. But it was at last confirmed by skilful jewellers in *Europe*, consulted on this occasion, that the stones thus found in *Brazil* were truly diamonds, many of which were not inferior, either in lustre or any other quality, to those of the *East-Indies*. On this determination the *Portuguese*, in the neighbourhood of those places where they had first been observed, set themselves to search for them with great assiduity. And they were not without great hopes of discovering considerable masses of them, as they found large rocks of crystal in many of the mountains from whence the streams came which washed down the diamonds.

But it was soon represented to the king of *Portugal*, that, if such plenty of diamonds should be met with as their sanguine conjectures seemed to indicate, this would so debase their value, and diminish their estimation, that, besides ruining all the *Europeans* who had any quantity of *Indian* diamonds in their possession, it would render the discovery itself of no importance, and would prevent his majesty from receiving any advantages from it. And on these considerations his majesty has thought proper to restrain the general search of diamonds, and has erected a diamond company for that purpose, with an exclusive charter. This company, in consideration of a sum paid to the king, is vested with the property of all diamonds found in *Brazil*: but, to hinder their collecting too large quantities, and thereby reducing their value, they are prohibited from employing above eight hundred slaves in searching after them. And to prevent any of his other subjects from acting the same part, and likewise to secure the Company from being defrauded by the interfering of interlopers in their trade and property, he has depopulated a large town, and a considerable district round it, and has obliged the inhabitants, who are said to amount to six thousand, to remove to another part of the country; for this town being in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impossible to prevent such a number of people, who were on the spot, from frequently smuggling.

In consequence of these important discoveries in *Brazil*, new laws, new governments, and new regulations, have been established in many parts of the country. For not long since, a considerable tract, possessed by a sett of inhabitants, who, from their principal settlement, were called

Paulists,

Pauliſts, was almoſt independent of the crown of *Portugal*; to which it ſcarcely acknowledged more than a nominal allegiance. Theſe *Pauliſts* are ſaid to be deſcendants of thoſe *Portugueſe* who retired from the northern part of *Brazil*, when it was invaded and poſſeſſed by the *Dutch*. As, from the confuſion of the times, they were long neglected by their ſuperiors, and were obliged to provide for their own ſecurity and defence, the neceſſity of their affairs produced a kind of government amongſt them, which they found ſufficient for the confined manner of life to which they were inured. And being thus habituated to their own regulations, they at length grew fond of their independency; ſo that, rejecting and deſpiſing the mandates of the court of *Liſbon*, they were often engaged in a ſtate of downright rebellion; and the mountains ſurrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few paſſages that open into it, generally put it in their power to make their own terms before they ſubmitted. But, as gold was found to abound in this country of the *Pauliſts*, the preſent king of *Portugal* (during whoſe reign almoſt the whole diſcoveries I have mentioned were begun and compleated) thought it incumbent on him to reduce this province, which now became of great conſequence, to the ſame dependency and obedience with the reſt of the country, which, I am told, he has at laſt, though with great difficulty, happily effected. And the ſame motives which induced his majeſty to undertake the reduction of the *Pauliſts*, has alſo occaſioned the changes I have mentioned, to have taken place at the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*. For the Governor of *Rio Grande*, of whom I have already ſpoken, aſſured us that, in the neighbourhood of this iſland, there were conſiderable rivers, which were found to be extremely rich; and that this was the reaſon that a garriſon, a military governor, and a new colony, was ſettled there. And as the harbour at this iſland is by much the ſecureſt and the moſt capacious of any on the coaſt, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood anſwer their expectation, but it may become in time the principal ſettlement in *Brazil*, and the moſt conſiderable port in all *South America*.

Thus much have I thought neceſſary to inſert, in relation to the preſent ſtate of *Brazil*, and of the Iſland of *St. Catharine's*; for as this laſt place has been generally recommended as the moſt eligible port for our cruiſers to refreſh

at, which are bound to the *South Seas*, I believed it to be my duty to inſtruct my countrymen, in the hitherto unſuſpected inconveniencies which attend that place. And as the *Braſilian* gold and diamonds are ſubjects, about which, from their novelty, very few particulars have been hitherto publiſhed, I conceived this account I had collected of them would appear to the reader to be neither a trifling nor a uſeleſs digreſſion. Theſe ſubjects being thus diſpatched, I ſhall now return to the ſeries of our own proceedings.

When we firſt arrived at *St. Catharine's*, we were employed in refreſhing our ſick on ſhore, in wooding and watering the ſquadron, cleanſing our ſhips, and examining and ſecuring our maſts and rigging, as I have already obſerved in the foregoing chapter. At the ſame time Mr. *Anſon* gave directions, that the ſhips companies ſhould be ſupplied with freſh meat, and that they ſhould be victualed with whole allowance of all the kinds of proviſions. In conſequence of theſe orders, we had freſh beef ſent on board us continually for our daily expence; and what was wanting to make up our allowance, we received from our victualer the *Anna Pink*, in order to preſerve the proviſions on board our ſquadron entire for our future ſervice. The ſeaſon of the year growing each day leſs favourable for our paſſage round Cape *Horn*, Mr. *Anſon* was very deſirous of leaving this place as ſoon as poſſible; and we were at firſt in hopes that our whole buſineſs would be done, and we ſhould be in a readineſs to ſail in about a fortnight from our arrival: but, on examining the *Tryal's* maſts, we, to our no ſmall vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time; for, on a ſurvey, it was found that the main-maſt was ſprung at the upper woulding, though it was thought capable of being ſecured by a couple of fiſhes; but the foremaſt was reported to be unfit for ſervice, and thereupon the carpenters were ſent into the woods, to endeavour to find a ſtick proper for a fore-maſt. But, after a ſearch of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpoſe. This obliged them to come to a ſecond conſultation about the old foremaſt, when it was agreed to endeavour to ſecure it by caſing it with three fiſhes: and in this work the carpenters were employed till within a day or two of our ſailing. In the mean time, the Commodore, thinking it neceſſary to have a clean veſſel on our arrival in the *South Seas*, ordered

the

the *Tryal* to be hove down, as this would not occasion any loss of time, but might be compleated while the carpenters were refitting her masts, which was done on shore.

On the 27th of *December*, we discovered a sail in the offing; and not knowing but she might be a *Spaniard*, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her, before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a *Portuguese* brigantine from *Rio Grande*. And though our officer, as it appeared on enquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to accept of a calf which the master would have forced on him as a present; yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of *Great Britain* and *Portugal*. We at first imputed this ridiculous bluftering to no deeper a cause than Don *Jose's* insolence; but, as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel by violence the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present (a circumstance which we were satisfied the governor was well acquainted with), we had hence reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not so easy for us to determine at that time; but, as we afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands in the *South Seas*, that he had dispatched an express to *Buenos Ayres*, where *Pizarro* then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at *St. Catharine's*, together with the most ample and circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don *Jose* had raised this groundless clamour, only to prevent our visiting the brigantine when she should put to sea again, lest we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps at the same time discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring governors, and the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres*. But to proceed:

It was near a month before the *Tryal* was refitted; for not only her lower masts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main-topmast and fore-yard were like-

wiſe decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ſhips of the ſquadron fixed new ſtanding rigging, and ſet up a ſufficient number of preventer ſhrouds to each maſt, to ſecure them in the moſt effectual manner. And in order to render the ſhips ſtiffer, and to enable them to carry more ſail abroad, and to prevent their ſtraining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to ſtrike down ſome of their great guns into the hold. Theſe precautions being complied with, and each ſhip having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the *Tryal* was at laſt compleated, and the whole ſquadron was ready for the ſea; on which the tents on ſhore were ſtruck, and all the ſick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthineſs of this place had been overrated by former writers; for we found, that though the *Centurion* alone had buried no leſs than twenty-eight men ſince our arrival, yet the number of her ſick was in the ſame interval increaſed from eighty to ninety-ſix. When our crews were embarked, and every thing was prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a ſignal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the ſucceſſive places of rendezvous from hence to the coaſt of *China*. And then, on the next day, being the 18th of *January*, the ſignal was made for weighing, and the ſquadron put to ſea, leaving without regret this iſland of *St. Catharine's*; where we had been ſo extremely diſappointed in our refreſhments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place which hath been ſo much celebrated for its hoſpitality, freedom, and conveniency.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The run from St. Catharine's *to port* St. Julian, *with ſome account of that port, and of the country to the ſouthward of the river of* Plate.

IN leaving *St. Catharine's*, we left the laſt amicable port we propoſed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hoſtile, or, at beſt, a deſart and inhoſpitable coaſt. And as we were to expect a more boiſterous climate to the ſouthward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of ſeparation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto; but other accidents of a more miſchievous nature were likewiſe to be apprehended, and, as much as poſſible, to be provided againſt. Mr. *Anſon*, therefore, in appointing the various ſtations at which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to rendezvous, had conſidered that it was poſſible his own ſhip might be diſabled from getting round Cape *Horn*, or might be loſt, and had given proper direction, that even in that caſe the expedition ſhould not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains, the day before we ſailed from *St. Catharine's*, were, that in caſe of ſeparation, which they were with the utmoſt care to endeavour to avoid, the firſt place of rendezvous ſhould be the bay of port *St. Julian*; deſcribing the place from Sir *John Narborough's* account of it: there they were to ſupply themſelves with as much ſalt as they could take in, both for their own uſe, and for the uſe of the ſquadron; and if, after a ſtay of ten days, they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through *Straits Le Maire*, round Cape *Horn*, into the *South Seas*, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the Iſland of *Noſtra Senora del Socoro*, in the latitude of 45° South, and longitude from the *Lizard* 71°: 12′ Weſt. They were to bring this Iſland to bear E. N. E. and to cruize from five to twelve leagues diſtance from it, as long as their ſtore of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmoſt frugality. And when they were under an abſolute neceſſity of a freſh ſupply, they were to ſtand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring place; and in caſe they could not, and the weather made

it dangerous to ſupply their ſhips by ſtanding off and on, they were then to make the beſt of their way to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of 33° 37′ South. At this iſland, as ſoon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruizing off the anchoring place for fifty-ſix days; in which time if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that ſome accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themſelves under the command of the ſenior officer, who was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to annoy the enemy both by ſea and land. With theſe views their new Commodore was to continue in thoſe ſeas as long as his proviſions laſted, or as long as they were recruited by what he ſhould take from the enemy, reſerving only a ſufficient quantity to carry him and the ſhips under his command to *Macao*, at the entrance of the river of *Canton*, on the coaſt of *China*, where having ſupplied himſelf with a new ſtock of proviſions, he was thence, without delay, to make the beſt of his way to *England*. And as it was found impoſſible as yet to unload our victualer the *Anna Pink*, the Commodore gave the maſter of her the ſame rendezvous, and the ſame orders to put himſelf under the command of the remaining ſenior officer.

Under theſe orders, the ſquadron ſailed from *St. Catharine's* on *Sunday* the 18th of *January*, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The next day we had very ſqually weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it ſoon became fair again, with light breezes, and continued thus till *Wedneſday* evening, when it blew freſh again; and increaſing all night, by eight the next morning it became a moſt violent ſtorm, and we had with it ſo thick a fog, that it was impoſſible to ſee at the diſtance of two ſhips length, ſo that the whole ſquadron diſappeared. On this a ſignal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due Eaſt. We ourſelves immediately handed the top-ſails, bunted the main-ſail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog diſperſed, and we ſoon diſcovered all the ſhips of the ſquadron, except the *Pearl*, who did not join us till near a month afterwards. Indeed the *Tryal* Sloop was a great way to leeward, having loſt her main-maſt in the ſquall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raſt. We therefore bore down with the ſquadron to her relief, and the *Gloucester* was ordered to take her in tow; for

for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then a great ſwell continued from the eaſtward, in conſequence of the preceding ſtorm.

After this accident, we ſtood to the ſouthward with little interruption. And here we experienced the ſame ſetting of the current, which we had obſerved before our arrival at *St. Catharine's*; that is, we generally found ourſelves to the ſouthward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequality, laſted till we had paſſed the latitude of the river of *Plate*; and even then we diſcovered that the ſame current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not ſatisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the latitude of the river of *Plate*, we had ſoundings, which continued all along the coaſt of *Patagonia*. Theſe ſoundings, when well aſcertained, being of great uſe in determining the poſition of the ſhip, and we having tried them more frequently, and in greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe hath been done before us; I ſhall recite our obſervations as ſuccinctly as I can, referring to the chart hereafter inſerted in the ninth chapter of this book, for a general view of the whole. In the latitude of 36°: 52′, we had ſixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey ſand; from thence, to 39°: 55′, we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had conſtantly the ſame bottom as before; between the laſt mentioned latitude, and 43°; 16′, we had only fine grey ſand, with the ſame variation of depths, except that we once or twice leſſened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarſe ſand and broken ſhells, at which time we were in ſight of land, and not above ſeven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of ſoundings: firſt black ſand, then muddy, and ſoon after rough ground with ſtones; but when we had increaſed our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of 46°: 10′. Hence drawing towards the ſhore, we had firſt thirty-ſix fathom, and ſtill kept ſhoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having conſtantly ſmall ſtones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape

Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of 47° : 10′, and longitude Weſt from *London* 69°. This is the moſt remarkable land upon the coaſt. Two very exact views of it are exhibited in the third plate, where (*b*) repreſents the Cape itſelf; theſe draughts will fully enable future voyagers to diſtinguiſh it. Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the ſhore with a S. W. courſe, varying rather to the weſtward, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a ſight of land, diſtant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of 48° : 31′. We made this land on the 17th of *February*, and at five that afternoon we came to an anchor, having the ſame ſoundings as before, in the latitude of 48° : 58′, the ſouthermoſt land then in view bearing S. S. W. the northermoſt N. ¼ E. a ſmall iſland N. W. and the weſtermoſt hummock W. S. W. In this ſtation we found the tide to ſet S. by W : and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterwards, diſcovered a ſail, upon which the *Severn* and *Glouceſter* were both directed to give chace ; but we ſoon perceived it to be the *Pearl*, which ſeparated from us a few days after we left *St. Catharine's*; and on this we made a ſignal for the *Severn* to rejoin the ſquadron, leaving the *Glouceſter* alone in the purſuit. And now we were ſurpriſed to ſee that, on the *Glouceſter's* approach, the people on board the *Pearl* increaſed their ſail, and ſtood from her. However, the *Glouceſter* came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the *Pearl* joined us, and running up under our ſtern, Lieutenant *Salt* haled the Commodore, and acquainted him that Captain *Kidd* died on the 31ſt of *January*. He likewiſe informed us, that he had ſeen five large ſhips the 10th inſtant, which he, for ſome time, imagined to be our ſquadron ; ſo that he ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a broad red pendant, exactly reſembling that of the Commodore, at the main top-maſt head, to come within gun-ſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake : but then finding it not to be the *Centurion*, he haled cloſe upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his ſail, and ſtanding croſs a ripling, where they heſitated to follow him, he happily eſcaped. He made them to be

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five *Spaniſh* men of war, one of them exceedingly like the *Glouceſter*, which was the occaſion of his apprehenſions when the *Glouceſter* chaced him. By their appearance, he thought they conſiſted of two ſhips of ſeventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. It ſeems, the whole ſquadron continued in chace of him all that day; but at night, finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their courſe to the ſouthward.

Had it not been for the neceſſity we were under of refitting the *Tryal*, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any ſtay at *St. Julian's*; but, as it was impoſſible for that ſloop to proceed round the Cape in her preſent condition, ſome ſtay there was inevitable, and therefore the ſame evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and ſand, and the high hummock bearing S. W. by W. And weighing at nine in the morning, we ſent the two cutters belonging to the *Centurion* and *Severn* in ſhore, to diſcover the harbour of *St. Julian*, while the ſhips kept ſtanding along the coaſt, about the diſtance of a league from the land. At ſix o'clock we anchored in the bay of *St. Julian*, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with ſand, the northermoſt land in ſight bearing N. and by E. the ſouthermoſt S. ½ E. and the high hummock, to which Sir *John Narborough* formerly gave the name of *Wood's Mount*, W. S. W. Soon after the cutter returned on board, having diſcovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our ſituation, the northermoſt point ſhutting in upon the ſouthermoſt, and in appearance cloſing the entrance. To facilitate the knowledge of this coaſt to future navigators, there are two views in the 4th and 5th plates; the firſt of the land of *Patagonia*, to the northward of port *St. Julian*, where *(w)* is *Wood's Mount*, and the bay of *St. Julian* lies round the point *(c)*. The ſecond view is of the bay itſelf; and here again *(w)* is *Wood's Mount*, *(a)* is Cape *St. Julian*, and *(b)* the port or river's mouth.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of *St. Julian*, principally with a view of refitting the *Tryal*, the carpenters were immediately employed in that buſineſs, and continued ſo during our whole ſtay at the place. The *Tryal's* mainmaſt having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the maſt

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ſerve again, and the *Wager* was ordered to ſupply her with a ſpare main-top-maſt, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-maſt. And I cannot help obſerving, that this accident to the *Tryal's* maſt, which gave us ſo much uneaſineſs at that time on account of the delay it occaſioned, was, in all probability, the means of preſerving the ſloop and all her crew; for before this, her maſts, how well ſoever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for theſe high ſouthern latitudes: ſo that, had they weathered the preceding ſtorm, it would have been impoſſible for them to have ſtood againſt thoſe ſeas and tempeſts we afterwards encountered in paſſing round Cape *Horn*; and the loſs of maſts, in that boiſterous climate, would ſcarcely have been attended with leſs than the loſs of the veſſel, and of every man on board her; ſince it would have been impracticable for the other ſhips to have given them any relief during the continuance of thoſe impetuous ſtorms.

Whilſt we ſtayed at this place, the Commodore appointed the honourable Captain *Murray* to ſucceed to the *Pearl*, and Captain *Cheap* to the *Wager*: and he promoted Mr. *Charles Saunders*, his firſt lieutenant, to the command of the *Tryal* ſloop. But Captain *Saunders* lying dangerouſly ill of a fever on board the *Centurion*, and it being the opinion of the ſurgeons that the removing him on board his own ſhip, in his preſent condition, might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. *Anſon* gave an order to Mr. *Saumarez*, firſt lieutenant of the *Centurion*, to act as maſter and commander of the *Tryal* during the illneſs of Captain *Saunders*.

Here the Commodore too, in order to eaſe the expedition of all unneceſſary expence, held a farther conſultation with his captains about unloading and diſcharging the *Anna Pink*; but they repreſented to him, that they were ſo far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had ſtill great quantities of proviſions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ſhips were withal ſo very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the Commodore under a neceſſity of retaining the *Pink* in the ſervice: and, as it was apprehended we ſhould certainly meet with the *Spaniſh* ſquadron in paſſing the Cape, Mr. *Anſon* thought it adviſeable to give orders to the captains, to put all their proviſions which were in the way of their guns on board the *Anna Pink*;

Pink, and to remount ſuch of their guns as had formerly, for the eaſe of their ſhips, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of *St. Julian*, where we are now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, for all cruizers bound to the ſouthward, and the whole coaſt of *Patagonia*, from the river of *Plate* to the *Straits of Magellan*, lying nearly parallel to their uſual route, a ſhort account of the ſingularity of this country, with a particular deſcription of Port *St. Julian*, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators, as ſome of them, by unforeſeen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make ſome ſtay on this coaſt; in which caſe the knowledge of the country, its produce, and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmoſt conſequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country uſually ſtyled *Patagonia*. This is the name often given to the ſouthermoſt part of *South America*, which is unpoſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, extending from their ſettlements, to the *Straits of Magellan*. This country, on the eaſt ſide, is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe; for, though the whole territory to the northward of the river of *Plate* is full of wood, and ſtored with immenſe quantities of large timber trees, yet, to the ſouthward of the river, no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, firſt planted and cultivated by the *Spaniards*, in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres*: ſo that on the whole eaſtern coaſt of *Patagonia*, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any diſcoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few inſignificant ſhrubs. Sir *John Narborough* in particular, who was ſent out by King *Charles* the ſecond, expreſsly to examine this country and the *Straits of Magellan*, and who, in purſuance of his orders, wintered upon this coaſt, in Port *St. Julian* and Port *Deſire*, in the year 1670: Sir *John Narborough*, I ſay, tells us, that he never ſaw a ſtick of wood in the country large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But, though the country be ſo deſtitute of wood, it abounds with paſture; for the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light dry gravely ſoil, and produces great quantities of long coarſe graſs, which grows in tufts, interſperſed with large barren ſpots of gravel between them. This graſs,

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in many places, feeds immenſe herds of cattle; for the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres* having, ſoon after their firſt ſettling there, brought over a few black cattle from *Europe*, they have thriven prodigiouſly, by the plenty of herbage which they every where met with, and are now increaſed to the degree, and are extended ſo far into different parts of *Patagonia*, that they are not conſidered as private property; many thouſands at a time are ſlaughtered every year by hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing theſe cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumſtantial deſcription. The hunters employed on this occaſion being all of them mounted on horſeback (and both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in that part of the world are uſually moſt excellent horſemen), they arm themſelves with a kind of a ſpear, which, at its end, inſtead of a blade fixed in the ſame line with the wood in the uſual manner, has its blade fixed a-croſs; with this inſtrument they ride at a beaſt and ſurround him, when the hunter that comes behind him ham-ſtrings him; and as after this operation the beaſt ſoon tumbles, without being able to raiſe himſelf again, they leave him on the ground, and purſue others, whom they ſerve in the ſame manner. Sometimes there is a ſecond party, who attend the hunters, to ſkin the cattle as they fall; but it is ſaid, that at other times the hunters chuſe to let them languiſh in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguiſh, which the animal in the mean time endures, may burſt the lymphaticks, and thereby facilitate the ſeparation of the ſkin from the carcaſe; and, though their prieſts have loudly condemned this moſt barbarous practice, and have gone ſo far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate thoſe who follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire ſtop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Beſides the numbers of cattle which are every year ſlaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already deſcribed, it is often neceſſary, for the uſes of agriculture, and for other purpoſes, to take them alive, without wounding them: this is performed with a moſt wonderful and almoſt incredible dexterity, and principally by the uſe of a machine, which the *Engliſh* who have reſided at *Buenos Ayres* generally denominate a laſh. It is made of a thong of ſeveral fathoms in length, and very ſtrong, with a running nooſe at one end of it; this the hunters (who in this

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caſe are alſo mounted on horſeback) take in their right hands, it being firſt properly coiled up, and having its end oppoſite to the nooſe faſtened to the ſaddle; and, thus prepared, they ride at a herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain diſtance of a beaſt, they throw their thong at him with ſuch exactneſs, that they never fail of fixing the nooſe about his horns. The beaſt, when he finds himſelf entangled, generally runs; but the horſe, being ſwifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much ſtrained, till a ſecond hunter, who follows the game, throws another nooſe about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horſes (for they are trained to this practice) inſtantly turn different ways, in order to ſtrain the two thongs in contrary directions; on which the beaſt, by their oppoſite pulls, is preſently overthrown, and then the horſes ſtop, keeping the thongs ſtill upon the ſtretch. Being thus on the ground, and incapable of reſiſtance (for he is extended between the two horſes), the hunters alight, and ſecure him in ſuch a manner, that they afterwards eaſily convey him to whatever place they pleaſe. They in like manner nooſe horſes, and, as it is ſaid, even tigers; and, however ſtrange this laſt circumſtance may appear, there are not wanting perſons of credit who aſſert it. Indeed, it muſt be owned that the addreſs both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, in that part of the world, in the uſe of this laſh or nooſe, and the certainty with which they throw it, and fix it on any intended part of the beaſt at a conſiderable diſtance, are matters only to be believed from the repeated and concurrent teſtimony of all who have frequented that country, and might reaſonably be queſtioned, did it rely on a ſingle report; or had it been ever contradicted or denied by any one who had reſided at *Buenos Ayres*.

The cattle which are killed in the manner I have already obſerved are ſlaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which ſometimes are added their tongues; but the reſt of their fleſh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beaſts. The greateſt part of this carrion falls to the ſhare of the wild dogs, of which there are immenſe numbers to be found in that country.

Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been originally produced by *Spaniſh* dogs from *Buenos Ayres*, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of ſubſiſting, left their maſters, and ran wild among the cattle;

cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the *Europ.* dogs, an animal not originally found in *America*. But tho' theſe dogs are ſaid to be ſome thouſands in a company, they hitherto neither diminiſh nor prevent the increaſe of the cattle, not daring to attack the herds, by reaſon of the numbers which conſtantly feed together, but contenting themſelves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few ſtragglers, who by accidents are ſeparated from the main body they belong to.

Beſides the wild cattle, which have ſpread themſelves in ſuch vaſt herds from *Buenos Ayres* towards the ſouthward, the ſame country is in like manner furniſhed with horſes. Theſe too were firſt brought from *Spain*, and are alſo prodigiouſly increaſed, and run wild to a much greater diſtance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value; the beſt of them being often ſold, in the neighbouring ſettlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a-piece. It is not yet certain how far to the ſouthward theſe herds of wild cattle and horſes have extended themſelves; but there is ſome reaſon to conjecture, that ſtragglers of both kinds are to be met with very near the *Straits of Magellan*; and they will in time doubtleſs fill all the ſouthern part of this continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of conſiderable advantage to ſuch ſhips as may touch upon the coaſt; for the horſes themſelves are ſaid to be very good eating, and, as ſuch, are preferred by ſome of the *Indians* even before the black cattle. But, whatever plenty of fleſh proviſions may be hereafter found here, there is one material refreſhment which this eaſtern ſide of *Patagonia* ſeems to be very defective in, and that is freſh water; for, the land being generally of a nitrous and ſaline nature, the ponds and ſtreams are frequently brackiſh: however, as good water has been found there, though in ſmall quantities, it is not improbable but, on a further ſearch, this inconvenience may be removed.

To the account already given, I muſt add, that there are in all parts of this country, a good number of *Vicunnas*, or *Peruvian* ſheep; but theſe, by reaſon of their ſhyneſs and ſwiftneſs, are killed with difficulty. On the eaſtern coaſt too, there are found immenſe quantities of ſeals, and a vaſt variety of ſea-fowl, among which the moſt remarkable are the *penguins*; they are in ſize and ſhape like a gooſe; but,

inſtead

inſtead of wings, they have ſhort ſtumps like fins, which are of no uſe to them except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an *alcitroſs*, and they ſtand and walk in an erect poſture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir *John Narborough* has whimſically likened them to little children ſtanding up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eaſtern coaſt (to which I have all along hitherto confined my relation) appear to be but few, and have rarely been ſeen more than two or three at a time, by any ſhips that have touched here. We, during our ſtay at the port of *St. Julian*, ſaw none. However, towards *Buenos Ayres*, they are ſufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troubleſome to the *Spaniards*; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for in that place the Continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth; whereas, at Port *St. Julian*, it is little more than a hundred: ſo that I conceive the ſame *Indians*, who frequent the weſtern coaſt of *Patagonia*, and the *Straits of Magellan*, often ramble to this ſide. As the *Indians* near *Buenos Ayres* exceed theſe ſouthern *Indians* in numbers, ſo they greatly ſurpaſs them in activity and ſpirit, and ſeem in their manners to be nearly allied to thoſe gallant *Chilian Indians*, who have long ſet the whole *Spaniſh* power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent; for the *Indians* about *Buenos Ayres* have learnt to be excellent horſemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the uſe of fire-arms, which the *Spaniards* are very ſolicitous to keep out of their hands; and of the vigour and reſolution of theſe *Indians*, the behaviour of *Orellana* and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable inſtance. Indeed, were we diſpoſed to aim at the utter ſubverſion of the *Spaniſh* power in *America*, no means ſeem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and aſſiſtance given to theſe *Indians*, and thoſe of *Chili*.

Thus much may ſuffice in relation to the eaſtern coaſt of *Patagonia*. The weſtern coaſt is of leſs extent; and, by reaſon of the *Andes*, which ſkirt it, and ſtretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous ſhore. However, I ſhall be hereafter neceſſitated to make further mention of it, and therefore ſhall not enlarge thereon at this time, but ſhall conclude this account with a ſhort deſcription

of

of the harbour of *St. Julian*, the general form of which may be conceived from the ſketch in the 6th Plate. But it muſt be remembered, that the bar, which is there marked at the entrance, is often ſhifting, and has many holes in it. The tide flows here N. and S; and, at full and change, riſes four fathom.

We, on our arrival here, ſent an officer on ſhore to the ſalt-pond, marked (D) in the Plan, in order to procure a quantity of ſalt for the uſe of the ſquadron; Sir *John Narborough* having obſerved, when he was here, that the ſalt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in *February* there was enough of it to fill a thouſand ſhips: but our officer returned with a ſample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; I ſuppoſe the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had deſtroyed it. To give the reader a better idea of this port, and of the adjacent country, to which the whole coaſt I have deſcribed bears a great reſemblance, I have inſerted two very accurate views, which may be ſeen in the 7th and 8th Plates; one of them repreſenting the appearance of the country when looking up the river; the other being a view taken from the ſame ſpot, but the obſerver is now ſuppoſed to turn round oppoſite to his former ſituation; and conſequently this is a repreſentation of the appearance of the country down the river, betwixt the ſtation of the obſerver and the river's mouth.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from the bay of St. Julian, *and the paſſage from thence to* Straits le Maire.

THE *Tryal* being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of *St. Julian*, and the ſole occaſion of our ſtay, the Commodore thought it neceſſary, as we were now directly bound for the *South Seas*, and the enemy's coaſts, to fix the plan of his firſt operations: And therefore, on the 24th of *February*, a ſignal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the *Centurion*; at which were preſent the Honourable *Edward Legg*, Captain *Matthew Mitchell*, the Honourable *George Murray*,

Murray, Captain *David Cheap*, together with Colonel *Mordaunt Cracherode*, Commander of the land-forces. At this Council, Mr. *Anſon* propoſed that their firſt attempt, after their arrival in the *South Seas*, ſhould be the attack of the town and harbour of *Baldivia*, the principal frontier of the diſtrict of *Chili*; Mr. *Anſon* informing them, at the ſame time, that it was an article contained in his Majeſty's inſtructions to him, to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the *South Seas*, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted. To this propoſition made by the Commodore, the council unanimouſly and readily agreed; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, new inſtructions were given to the captains of the ſquadron, by which though they were ſtill directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to make the beſt of their way to the Iſland of *Nueſtra Senora del Socoro*, yet (notwithſtanding the orders they had formerly given them at *St. Catherine's*) they were to cruize off that Iſland only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed, and cruize off the harbour of *Baldivia*, making the land between the latitudes of 40°, and 40° : 30′, and taking care to keep to the ſouthward of the port; and, if in fourteen days they were not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, they were then to quit this ſtation, and to direct their courſe to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The ſame directions were alſo given to the maſter of the *Anna Pink*, who was not to fail in anſwering the ſignals made by any ſhip of the ſquadron, and was to be very careful to deſtroy his papers and orders, if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And, as the ſeparation of the ſquadron might prove of the utmoſt prejudice to his Majeſty's ſervice, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the reſpective officers of the watch, not to keep their ſhip at a greater diſtance from the *Centurion* than two miles, as they would anſwer it at their peril; and, if any captain ſhould find his ſhip beyond the diſtance ſpecified, he was to acquaint the Commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

Theſe neceſſary regulations being eſtabliſhed, and the *Tryal* Sloop completed, the ſquadron weighed on *Friday* the 27th of *February*, at ſeven in the morning, and ſtood to ſea; the *Glouceſter*, indeed, found a difficulty in purchaſing her anchor,

anchor, and was left a conſiderable way a-ſtern, ſo that in the night we fired ſeveral guns as a ſignal to her Captain to make ſail; but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their beſt bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, *Wood's Mount*, the high land over *St. Julian*, bore from us N. by W. diſtant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathom of water. And now, ſtanding to the ſouthward, we had great expectation of falling in with *Pizarro's* ſquadron; for, during our ſtay at Port *St. Julian*, there had generally been hard gales between the W. N. W. and S. W. ſo that we had reaſon to conclude the *Spaniards* had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed, it was the proſpect of meeting with them that had occaſioned our Commodore to be ſo very ſolicitous to prevent the ſeparation of our ſhips; for, had we been ſolely intent upon getting round Cape *Horn* in the ſhorteſt time, the propereſt method for this purpoſe would have been, to have ordered each ſhip to have made the beſt of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the reſt.

From our departure from *St. Julian* to the 4th of *March*, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and ſome rain; and our ſoundings were generally from forty to fifty fathom, with a bottom of black and grey ſand, ſometimes intermixed with pebble ſtones. On the 4th of *March* we were in ſight of Cape *Virgin Mary*, and not more than ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This Cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the *Straits of Magellan*; it lies in the latitude of 52°: 21′ South, and longitude from *London* 71°: 44′ Weſt, and ſeems to be a low flat land, ending in a point. And, for a direction to ſuch ſhips as may, by particular reaſons, be induced hereafter to paſs through thoſe Straits into the *South Seas*, there is in the ninth Plate a very accurate draught of its appearance, where (*a*) repreſents the Cape itſelf. Off this Cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with ſmall breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and moſt of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a viſit to the Commodore: but, while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame, which burſt out on board the *Gloucester*, and which

was

was ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoke. However, they were ſoon relieved from their apprehenſions, by receiving information, that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark of fire from the forge lighting on ſome gun-powder and other combuſtibles, which an officer on board was preparing for uſe, in caſe we ſhould fall in with the *Spaniſh* fleet; and that it had been extinguiſhed, without any damage to the ſhip.

We here found, what was conſtantly verified by all our obſervations in theſe high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding ſhort duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain preſage of a ſucceeding ſtorm; for the calm and ſunſhine of our afternoon ended in a moſt turbulent night, the wind freſhning from the S. W. as the night came on, and increaſing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew ſo hard, that we were obliged to bring-to with the ſquadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-ſeven fathom water, with black ſand and gravel; and, by an obſervation we had at noon, we concluded a current had ſet us twelve miles to the ſouthward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made ſail again; and, ſteering South, we diſcovered in the morning, for the firſt time, the land called *Terra del Fuego*, ſtretching from the S. by W. to the S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable proſpect, it appearing of a ſtupendous height, covered every where with ſnow. And though the drearineſs of this ſcene can be but imperfectly repreſented by any drawing; yet the tenth Plate contains ſo exact a delineation of the form of the country, that it may greatly aſſiſt the reader in framing ſome idea of this uncouth and rugged coaſt. In this drawing, *(a)* is the opening of *Straits le Maire*, *(b)* Cape *St. Diego*, (1) (2) (3) the three hills, called *The Three Brothers*, and (4) *Montegorda*, an high land, which lies up in the country, and appears over *The Three Brothers*. We ſteered along this ſhore all day, having ſoundings from forty to fifty fathom, with ſtones and gravel. And, as we intended to paſs through *Straits le Maire* next day, we lay-to at night, that we might not overſhoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourſelves for the tempeſtuous climate we were ſoon to be engaged in; with which view we employed ourſelves good part of the night in bending an entire new ſuit of ſails to the yards. At four the next morning, being

ing the 7th of *March*, we made ſail, and at eight we ſaw the land; and ſoon after we began to open the Straits; at which time Cape *St. James* bore from us E. S. E. Cape *St. Vincent* S. E. ½ E. the middlemoſt of *The Three Brothers* S. and by W. *Montegorda* S. and Cape *St. Bartholomew* (which is the ſouthermoſt point of *Staten-land*) E. S. E. The appearance of the Straits in this ſituation is repreſented in the eleventh Plate, where (*a*) is part of *Staten-land*, (*b*) Cape *St. Bartholomew*, (*c*) part of *Terra del Fuego*, (*d*) Port *Maurice*, and (*e*) ſuppoſed to be *Valentine's-Bay*, or, the *Bay of Good Succeſs*. And here I muſt obſerve, that, though *Frezier* has given us a very correct proſpect of the part of *Terra del Fuego* which borders on the Straits; yet he has omitted that of *Staten-land*, which forms the oppoſite ſhore: hence we found it difficult to determine exactly where the Straits lay, till they began to open to our view; and, for want of this, if we had not happened to have coaſted a conſiderable way along ſhore, we might have miſſed the Straits, and have got to the eaſtward of *Staten-land* before we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ſhips; particularly, as *Frezier* mentions, to the *Incarnation* and *Concord*, who, intending to paſs through *Straits le Maire*, were deceived by three hills on *Staten-land*, like *The Three Brothers*, and ſome creeks reſembling thoſe of *Terra del Fuego*, and thereby overſhot the Straits. To prevent theſe accidents for the future, there is inſerted the Weſt proſpect of *Staten-land*, where (*a*) is Cape *St. Diego*, on *Terra del Fuego*; (*b*) Cape *St. Bartholomew*, on *Staten-land*. This Drawing will hereafter render it impoſſible for any ſhips to be deceived in the manner abovementioned, or to find any difficulty in diſtinguiſhing the points of land by which the Straits are formed.

And on occaſion of this proſpect of *Staten-land* here inſerted, I cannot but remark, that though *Terra del Fuego* had an aſpect extremely barren and deſolate, yet this Iſland of *Staten-land* far ſurpaſſes it, in the wildneſs and horror of its appearance; it ſeeming to be entirely compoſed of inacceſſible rocks, without the leaſt mixture of earth, or mould, between them. Theſe rocks terminate in a vaſt number of ragged points, which ſpire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlaſting ſnow; the points themſelves are on every ſide ſurrounded with frightful precipices, and often over-hang in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner;

and the hills which bear them, are generally ſeparated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for theſe chaſms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the ſubſtance of the main rocks, almoſt to their very bottoms; ſo that nothing can be imagined more ſavage and gloomy, than the whole aſpect of this coaſt. But to proceed:

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of *March*, in the morning, we opened *Straits le Maire*, and ſoon after, or about ten o'clock, the *Pearl* and the *Tryal* being ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron, we entered them with fair weather and a briſk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between ſeven and eight leagues in length. As theſe Straits are often eſteemed to be the boundary between the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* Oceans, and as we preſumed we had nothing before us from hence but an open ſea, till we arrived on thoſe opulent coaſts where all our hopes and wiſhes centered, we could not help perſuading ourſelves, that the greateſt difficulty of our voyage was now at an end, and that our moſt ſanguine dreams were upon the point of being realiſed; and hence we indulged our imaginations in thoſe romantick ſchemes which the fancied poſſeſſion of the *Chilian* gold and *Peruvian* ſilver might be conceived to inſpire. Theſe joyous ideas were conſiderably heightened by the brightneſs of the ſky and ſerenity of the weather, which was indeed moſt remarkably pleaſing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildneſs, gave place to none we had ſeen ſince our departure from *England*. Thus animated by theſe flattering deluſions, we paſſed thoſe memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and juſt ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the ſquadron would be ſeparated never to unite again, and that this day of our paſſage was the laſt chearful day that the greateſt part of us would ever live to enjoy.

CHAP. VIII.

From Straits le Maire *to Cape* Noir.

WE had ſcarcely reached the ſouthern extremity of the *Straits le Maire*, when our flattering hopes were inſtantly loſt in the apprehenſions of immediate deſtruction; for, before the ſternmoſt ſhips of the ſquadron were clear of the Straits, the ſerenity of the ſky was ſuddenly obſcured, and we obſerved all the preſages of an impending ſtorm; and preſently the wind ſhifted to the ſouthward, and blew in ſuch violent ſqualls, that we were obliged to hand our top-ſails, and reef our main-ſail; whilſt the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiouſly againſt us, and drove us to the eaſtward with prodigious rapidity, ſo that we were in great anxiety for the *Wager* and the *Anna Pink*, the two ſternmoſt veſſels, fearing they ſhould be daſhed to pieces againſt the ſhore of *Staten-land:* nor were our apprehenſions without foundation, for it was with the utmoſt difficulty they eſcaped. And now the whole ſquadron, inſtead of purſuing their intended courſe to the S. W. were driven to the eaſtward, by the united force of the ſtorm and of the currents; ſo that next day in the morning we found ourſelves near ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of *Straits le Maire*, which then bore from us N. W. The violence of the current, which had ſet us with ſo much precipitation to the eaſtward, together with the fierceneſs and conſtancy of the weſterly winds, ſoon taught us to conſider the doubling of Cape *Horn* as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though ſome amongſt us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were ſaid to have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had ſuppoſed them to ariſe rather from timidity and unſkilfulneſs, than from the real embarraſſments of the winds and ſeas; but we were now ſeverely convinced, that theſe cenſures were raſh and ill grounded; for the diſtreſſes with which we ſtruggled, during the three ſucceeding months, will not eaſily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by thoſe who ſhall carefully peruſe the enſuing narration.

From the ſtorm which came on before we had well got clear of *Straits le Maire*, we had a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather, as ſurpriſed the oldeſt and moſt ex-

experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confeſs, that what they had hitherto called ſtorms, were inconſiderable gales, compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort, and at the ſame time ſuch mountainous waves, as greatly ſurpaſſed in danger all ſeas known in any other part of the globe: and it was not without great reaſon, that this unuſual appearance filled us with continual terror; for, had any one of theſe waves broke fairly over us, it muſt, in all probability, have ſent us to the bottom. Nor did we eſcape with terror only; for the ſhip rolling inceſſantly gunwale-to, gave us ſuch quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the decks, or ſides of the ſhip. And though we were extremely careful to ſecure ourſelves from theſe ſhocks, by graſping ſome fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; ſome of whom were killed, and others greatly injured: in particular, one of our beſt ſeamen was canted over-board and drowned, another diſlocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatſwain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the ſame kind. Theſe tempeſts, ſo dreadful in themſelves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumſtance, were yet rendered more miſchievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at ſome times afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie-to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequenly reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make ſail with our courſes double reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to ſet our top-ſails; after which the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled forced, and would in an inſtant tear our ſails from the yards. And, that no circumſtance might be wanting which could aggrandize our diſtreſs, theſe blaſts generally brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which caſed our rigging, and froze our ſails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to ſnap upon the ſlighteſt ſtrain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ſhip, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themſelves with their uſual activity, and even diſabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and

fingers. It were indeed needleſs to enumerate the various diſaſters of different kinds, which befel us; and I ſhall only mention the moſt material, which will ſufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole ſquadron during the courſe of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of *March*, as hath been already obſerved, that we paſſed *Straits le Maire*, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eaſtward by a violent ſtorm, and the force of the current which ſet that way. For the four or five ſucceeding days, we had hard gales of wind from the ſame quarter, with a moſt prodigious ſwell; ſo that, though we ſtood during all that time towards the S. W. yet we had no reaſon to imagine we had made any way to the weſtward. In this interval we had frequent ſqualls of rain and ſnow, and ſhipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the ſeas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate: but, on the 18th, we had again ſtrong gales of wind, with extreme cold; and, at midnight, the main top-ſail ſplit, and one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes broke. From hence to the 23d, the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and ſleet, and ſome hard gales; but, as the waves did not ſubſide, the ſhip, by labouring in this lofty ſea, was now grown ſo looſe in her upper works, that ſhe let in the water at every ſeam, ſo that every part within board was conſtantly expoſed to the ſea-water, and ſcarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare that two nights ever paſſed, without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came in upon them.

On the 23d, we had a moſt violent ſtorm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great ſea; and though we handed the main top-ſail before the height of the ſquall, yet we found the yard ſprung; and, ſoon after the foot-rope of the main-ſail breaking, the main-ſail itſelf ſplit inſtantly to rags, and, in ſpite of our endeavours to ſave it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this the Commodore made the ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to; and the ſtorm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-ſail yard, to put the carpenters to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging. After which, having bent a new main-ſail, we got under ſail again, with a moderate breeze; but, in leſs than twenty-

twenty-four hours, we were attacked by another ſtorm ſtill more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the neceſſity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ſhip kept the wind better than any of the reſt, we were obliged, in the afternoon, to wear ſhip, in order to join the ſquadron to the leeward, which otherwiſe we ſhould have been in danger of loſing in the night; and, as we dared not venture any ſail abroad, we were obliged to make uſe of an expedient which anſwered our purpoſe; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-ſhrouds; but though this method proved ſucceſsful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ableſt ſeamen was canted over-board: We perceived, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he ſwam very ſtrong, and it was with the utmoſt concern that we found ourſelves incapable of aſſiſting him; indeed, we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we loſt ſight of him ſtruggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he ſwam, that he might continue ſenſible, for a conſiderable time longer, of the horror attending his irretrievable ſituation.

Before this laſt mentioned ſtorm was quite abated, we found two of our main-ſhrouds, and one mizen ſhroud, broke; all which we knotted, and ſet up immediately. From hence we had an interval of three or four days leſs tempeſtuous than uſual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almoſt every half hour, to keep our ſquadron together. On the 31ſt we were alarmed by a gun fired from the *Glouceſter*, and a ſignal made by her to ſpeak with the Commodore. We immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of ſome terrible diſaſter; but we were apprized of it before we joined her, for we ſaw that her main yard was broke in the ſlings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious it would prove an hindrance to our ſailing, and would detain us the longer in theſe inhoſpitable latitudes. But our future ſucceſs and ſafety was not to be promoted by repining, but by reſolution and activity; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as little as poſſible, the Commodore ordered ſeveral carpenters to be put on board the *Glouceſter* from the other ſhips of the ſquadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmoſt expedition. And the captain of the *Tryal* complaining at the ſame time,

that his pumps were ſo bad, and his ſloop made ſo great a quantity of water that he was ſcarcely able to keep her free, the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ſhip. It was very fortunate for the *Glouceſter* and the *Tryal*, that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; ſince by this means they were enabled to receive the aſſiſtance which ſeemed eſſential to their preſervation, and which they could ſcarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the 1ſt of *April*, the weather returned again to its cuſtomary bias: the ſky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freſhen, and to blow in ſqualls; however, it was not yet ſo boiſterous, as to prevent our carrying our top ſails cloſe reefed; but its appearance was ſuch, as plainly prognoſticated that a ſtill ſeverer tempeſt was at hand. And accordingly, on the third of *April*, there came on a ſtorm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it laſted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its firſt onſet, we received a furious ſhock from a ſea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it ſtoved in the quarter-gallery, and ruſhed into the ſhip like a deluge; our rigging too ſuffered extremely from the blow; among the reſt, one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was alſo a main ſhroud and pattock-ſhroud; ſo that, to eaſe the ſtreſs upon the maſts and ſhrouds, we lowered both our main and fore yards, and furled all our ſails, and in this poſture we lay-to for three days, when the ſtorm ſomewhat abating, we ventured to make ſail under our courſes only: but even this we could not do long; for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie-to again till night. It was wonderful, that, notwithſtanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the ſquadron ſince the breaking of the *Glouceſter's* main-yard: but this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three the next morning, ſeveral guns were fired to leeward, as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the Commodore making a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to, we, at day-break, ſaw the *Wager* a conſiderable way to leeward of any of the other ſhip, and we ſoon perceived that ſhe had loſt her mizen-maſt and main top ſail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found

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this diſaſter had ariſen from the badneſs of her iron-work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ſhip's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the *Wager*, as her carpenter had been on board the *Glouceſter* ever ſince the 31ſt of *March*, and the weather was now too ſevere to permit him to return. Nor was the *Wager* the only ſhip of the ſquadron that ſuffered in this tempeſt; for, the next day, a ſignal of diſtreſs was made by the *Anna Pink*; and, upon ſpeaking with the maſter, we learnt that they had broke their fore-ſtay, and the gammon of the bowſprit, and were in no ſmall danger of having all their maſts come by the board; ſo that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all faſt, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our ſolicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been inceſſantly expoſed for near forty days, we had great conſolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we ſhould ſoon arrive in a more hoſpitable climate, where we ſhould be amply repayed for all our paſt ſufferings; for, towards the latter end of [redacted] we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10° to the weſtward of the weſtermoſt point of *Terra del Fuego*; and this allowance being double what former Navigators have thought neceſſary to be taken, in order to compenſate the drift of the weſtern current, we eſteemed ourſelves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Ocean, and had therefore been ever ſince ſtanding to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent diſaſters permitted, and on the 13th of *April* we were but a degree in latitude to the ſouthward of the weſt entrance of the *Straits of Magellan*; ſo that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the *Pacific Ocean*.

But theſe were deluſions, which only ſerved to render our diſappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were ſtanding to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the *Pink* made a ſignal of ſeeing land right a-head; and, it being but two miles diſtant, we were all under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of running on ſhore; which, had either the wind blown from its uſual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon ſuddenly

ly ſhone out, not a ſhip amongſt us could poſſibly have avoided: but the wind, which ſome few hours before blew in ſqualls from the S. W. having fortunately ſhifted to W. N. W. we were enabled to ſtand to the ſouthward, and to clear ourſelves of this unexpected danger; and we were fortunate enough by noon to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of *Terra del Fuego*, near the ſouthern outlet deſcribed in *Frezier's* Chart of the *Straits of Magellan*, and was ſuppoſed to be that point called by him Cape *Noir*. It was indeed moſt wonderful, that the currents ſhould have driven us to the eaſtward with ſuch ſtrength; for the whole ſquadron eſteemed themſelves upwards of ten degrees more weſterly than this land; ſo that, in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that diſtance. And now, inſtead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil ſeas, we were to ſteer again to the ſouthward, and were again to combat thoſe weſtern blaſts which had ſo often terrified us; and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling ſick and dying apace, and when our ſpirits, dejected by a long continuance at ſea, and by our late diſappointment, were much leſs capable of ſupporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the diſcouragement we received by the diminution of the ſtrength of the ſquadron; for, three days before this, we loſt ſight of the *Severn* and the *Pearl* in the morning, and though we ſpread our ſhips, and beat about for them ſome time, yet we never ſaw them more; whence we had apprehenſions, that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and, by being leſs favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on ſhore and have periſhed. Full of theſe deſponding thoughts and gloomy preſages, we ſtood away to the S. W. prepared by our late diſaſter to ſuſpect, that how large ſoever an allowance we made in our weſting for the drift of the weſtern current, we might ſtill, upon a ſecond trial, perhaps find it inſufficient.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Observations and directions for facilitating the passage of our future Cruizers round Cape Horn.

THE improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape *Horn*, and to which is to be imputed the disappointment (recited in the foregoing chapter) of falling in with *Terra del Fuego*, when we reckoned ourselves above a hundred leagues to the westward of that whole coast, and, consequently, well advanced into the *Pacific Ocean*; this unseasonable navigation, I say, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from *England*, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered; for, from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of our people, the ruin of our project on *Baldivia*, and of all our other views on the *Spanish* places; and the reduction of our squadron, from the formidable condition in which it passed *Straits le Maire*, to a couple of shattered half-manned cruizers and a sloop, so far disabled, that in many climates they scarcely durst have put to sea. To prevent, therefore, as much as in me lies, all ships hereafter bound to the *South Seas* from suffering the same calamities, I think it my duty to insert in this place such directions and observations, as either my own experience and reflexion, or the conversation of the most skilful Navigators on board the squadron could furnish me with, in relation to the most eligible manner of doubling Cape *Horn*, whether in regard to the season of the year, the course proper to be steered, or the places of refreshment both on the east and west side of *South America*.

And first with regard to the proper place of refreshment on the East side of *South America*. For this purpose the Island of *St. Catharine's* has been usually recommanded by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned; but the treatment we met with, and the small store of refreshments we could procure there, are sufficient reasons to render all ships for the future cautious, how they trust themselves in the government of Don *Jose Sylva de Paz*; for they may certainly depend on having their strength, condition, and designs, betrayed to the *Spaniards*, as far as the knowledge the Governor can

procure of theſe particulars will give him leave. And as this treacherous conduct is inſpired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river of *Plate*, rather than by any national affection which the *Portugueſe* bear the *Spaniards*, the ſame perfidy may perhaps be expected from moſt of the Governors of the *Brazil* coaſt; ſince theſe ſmuggling engagements are doubtleſs very extenſive and general. And though the Governors ſhould themſelves deteſt ſo faithleſs a procedure, yet as ſhips are perpetually paſſing from ſome or other of the *Brazil* ports to the river of *Plate*, the *Saniards* could ſcarcely fail of receiving, by this means, caſual intelligence of any *Britiſh* ſhips upon the coaſt; which, however imperfect ſuch intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and intereſts of thoſe cruizers who were thus diſcovered.

For the *Spaniſh* trade in the *South Seas* running all in one track from North to South, with very little deviation to the Eaſtward or Weſtward, it is in the power of two or three cruizers, properly ſtationed in different parts of this track, to poſſeſs themſelves of every ſhip that puts to ſea: but this is only ſo long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coaſt; for the inſtant an enemy is known to be in thoſe ſeas, all navigation is prohibited, and conſequently all captures are at an end; ſince the *Spaniards*, well apprized of theſe advantages of the enemy, ſend expreſſes along the coaſt, and lay a general embargo on all their trade; a meaſure which, they prudentially foreſee, will not only prevent their veſſels being taken, but will ſoon lay any cruiſers, who have not ſtrength ſufficient to attempt their places, under the neceſſity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the *Portugueſe* Governors to the *Spaniards*, in relation to the deſigns of ſhips touching at the ports of *Brazil*.

However, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies we have mentioned of touching on the coaſt of *Brazil*, it will oftentimes happen, that ſhips bound round Cape *Horn* will be obliged to call there, for a ſupply of wood and water, and other refreſhments. In this caſe, *St. Catharine's* is the laſt place I would recommend, both as the proper animals for a live ſtock at ſea, as hogs, ſheep, and fowls, cannot be procured there (for want of which we found ourſelves greatly diſtreſſed,

diſtreſſed, by being reduced to live almoſt entirely on ſalt proviſions); and alſo becauſe, from its being nearer the river of *Plate* than many of their other ſettlements, the inducements and conveniencies of betraying us are much ſtronger. The place I would recommend is *Rio Janeiro*, where two of our ſquadron put in after they were ſeparated from us in paſſing Cape *Horn*; for here, as I have been informed by one of the gentlemen on board thoſe ſhips, any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured; and this place being more diſtant from the river of *Plate*, the difficulty of intelligence is ſomewhat inhanced, and conſequently the chance of continuing there undiſcovered in ſome degree augmented. Other meaſures, which may effectually obviate all theſe embarraſſments, ſhall be conſidered more at large hereafter.

I next proceed to the conſideration of the proper courſe to be ſteered for doubling Cape *Horn*. And here, I think, I am ſufficiently authorized, by our own fatal experience, and by a careful compariſon and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which in prudence I think ought never to be departed from; that is, that all ſhips bound to the *South Seas*, inſtead of paſſing through *Straits Le Maire*, ſhould conſtantly paſs to the eaſtward of *Staten-land*, and ſhould be invariably bent on running to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavoured to ſtand to the weſtward; and that, when they are got into that latitude, they ſhould then make ſure of ſufficient weſting, before they once think of ſteering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically oppoſite to theſe have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reaſons for each part of this maxim. And firſt, as to the paſſing to the eaſtward of *Staten-land*. Thoſe who have attended to the riſque we ran in paſſing *Straits Le Maire*, the danger we were in of being driven upon *Staten-land* by the current, when, though we happily eſcaped being put on ſhore, we were yet carried to the eaſtward of that iſland: thoſe who reflect on this, and the like accidents which have happened to other ſhips, will ſurely not eſteem it prudent to paſs through *Straits Le Maire*, and run the riſque of ſhipwreck, and after all find themſelves no farther to the weſtward (the only reaſon hitherto given for this practice) than

than they might have been in the ſame time, by a ſecure navigation, in an open ſea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62° South, before any endeavour is made to ſtand to the weſtward; the reaſons for this precept are, that in all probability the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided, and the weather will prove leſs tempeſtuous and uncertain. This laſt circumſtance we ourſelves experienced moſt remarkably; for, after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, we ſtood away to the ſouthward to run clear of it, and were no ſooner advanced into ſixty degrees or upwards, but we met with much better weather, and ſmoother water, than in any other part of the whole paſſage: the air indeed was very cold and ſharp, and we had ſtrong gales, but they were ſteady and uniform, and we had at the ſame time ſunſhine and a clear ſky; whereas, in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new ſtrength, and then returned ſuddenly in the moſt violent guſts, threatening at each blaſt the loſs of our maſts, which muſt have ended in our certain deſtruction. And that the currents in this high latitude would be of much leſs efficacy than nearer the land, ſeems to be evinced from theſe conſiderations, that all currents run with greater violence near the ſhore than at ſea, and that at great diſtances from ſhore they are ſcarcely perceptible: indeed the reaſon of this ſeems ſufficiently obvious, if we conſider, that conſtant currents are, in all probability, produced by conſtant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a ſlow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which, being accumulated upon any coaſt that it meets with, muſt eſcape along the ſhore, by the endeavours of its ſurface to reduce itſelf to the ſame level with the reſt of the ocean. And it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that thoſe violent guſts of wind, which we experienced near the ſhore, ſo very different from what we found in the latitude of ſixty degrees and upwards, may be owing to a ſimilar cauſe; for a weſterly wind almoſt perpetually prevails in the ſouthern part of the *Pacific* ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by thoſe immenſe hills called the *Andes*, and by the mountains on *Terra del Fuego*, which together bar up the whole country to the ſouthward as far as Cape *Horn*, a part of it only can force

force its way over the tops of thoſe prodigious precipices, whilſt the reſt muſt naturally follow the direction of the coaſt, and muſt range down the land to the ſouthward; and ſweep with an impetuous and irregular blaſt round Cape *Horn*, and the ſouthermoſt part of *Terra del Fuego*. However, not to rely on theſe ſpeculations, we may, I believe, eſtabliſh, as inconteſtible, theſe matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the weſtern gales, are leſs ſenſible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the ſhore of *Terra del Fuego*.

But though I am ſatisfied, from both our own experience and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here inſiſt on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to ſtand to the weſtward; yet I would adviſe no ſhips hereafter to truſt ſo far to this management, as to neglect another moſt eſſential maxim, which is, the making this paſſage in the height of ſummer, that is, in the months of *December* and *January*: and the more diſtant the time of paſſing is taken from this ſeaſon, the more diſaſtrous it may be reaſonably expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the weſtern winds be conſidered, the time of our paſſage, which was about the Equinox, was perhaps the moſt unfavourable of the whole year; but then it muſt be remembered that, independent of the winds, there are, in the depth of winter, many other inconveniencies to be apprehended, which are almoſt inſuperable: for the ſeverity of the cold, and the ſhortneſs of the days, would render it impracticable at that ſeaſon to run ſo far to the ſouthward as is here recommended; and the ſame reaſons would greatly augment the alarms of ſailing in the neighbourhood of an unknown ſhore, dreadful in its appearance in the midſt of ſummer, and would make a winter navigation on this coaſt to be, of all others, the moſt diſmaying and terrible. As I would therefore adviſe all ſhips to make their paſſage in *December* and *January*, if poſſible; ſo I would warn them never to attempt the doubling Cape *Horn*, from the eaſtward, after the month of *March*.

And now as to the remaining conſideration, that is, the propereſt port for cruizers to refreſh at on their firſt arrival in the *South Seas*: on this head there is ſcarcely any choice, the iſland of *Juan Fernandes* being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpoſe; for though there

there are many ports on the weſtern ſide of *Patagonia*, between the Straits of *Magellan* and the *Spaniſh* ſettlements (a plan of one of which will be referred to in the courſe of this work), where ſhips might ride in great ſafety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure ſome few refreſhments; yet that coaſt is in itſelf ſo dangerous, from its numerous rocks and breakers, and from the violence of the weſtern winds which blow conſtantly full upon it, that it is by no means adviſeable to fall in with that land, at leaſt till the roads, channels, and anchorage, in each part of it, are accurately ſurveyed, and both the perils and ſhelter it abounds with are more diſtinctly known.

Thus having given the beſt directions in my power for the ſucceſs of our cruiſers who may be hereafter bound to the *South Seas*; it might be expected that I ſhould again reſume the thread of my narration. Yet as, both in the preceding and ſubſequent parts of this work, I have thought it my duty not only to recite all ſuch facts, and to inculcate ſuch maxims, as had the leaſt appearance of proving beneficial to future navigators, but alſo occaſionally to recommend ſuch meaſures to the public as I conceive are adapted to promote the ſame laudable purpoſe; I cannot deſiſt from the preſent ſubject, without beſeeching thoſe to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarraſſments with which the navigation to the *South Seas* is, at preſent, neceſſarily encumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honourable to themſelves, and extremely beneficial to their country: for it ſeems to be ſufficiently evident, that whatever improvements navigation ſhall receive, either by the invention of methods that ſhall render its practice leſs hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coaſts, roads, and ports, already known, or by the diſcovery of new nations, or new ſpecies of commerce; it ſeems, I ſay, ſufficiently evident, that, by whatever means navigation is promoted, the inconveniencies hence ariſing muſt ultimately redound to the emolument of *Great Britain*; ſince, as our fleets are at preſent ſuperior to thoſe of the whole world united, it muſt be a matchleſs degree of ſupineneſs or mean-ſpiritedneſs, if we permitted any of the advantages which new diſcoveries, or a more extended navigation, may produce to mankind, to be raviſhed from us.

As

As therefore it appears that all our future expeditions to the *South Seas* muſt run a conſiderable riſque of proving abortive, whilſt, in our paſſage thither, we are under the neceſſity of touching at *Brazil*; the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouthward, where ſhips might refreſh and ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary ſea-ſtock for their voyage round Cape *Horn*, would be an expedient which would relieve us from this embarraſſment, and would ſurely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Nor does this ſeem difficult to be effected. For we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpoſe; one of them is *Pepy's* Iſland, in the latitude of 47° South, and laid down by Dr. *Halley* about eighty leagues to the eaſtward of Cape *Blanco*, on the coaſt of *Patagonia*; the other is *Falkland's* Iſles, in the latitude of 51° ½, lying nearly South of *Pepy's* Iſland. The firſt of theſe was diſcovered by Captain *Cowley*, in his voyage round the world in the year 1686; who repreſents it as a commodious place for ſhips to wood and water at, and ſays, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thouſand ſail of ſhips might ride at anchor in great ſafety; that it abounds with fowls, and that, as the ſhore is either rocks or ſands, it ſeems to promiſe great plenty of fiſh. The ſecond place, or *Falkland's* Iſles, have been ſeen by many ſhips both *French* and *Engliſh*, being the land laid down by *Frezier*, in his chart of the extremity of *South America*, under the title of the *New Iſlands*. *Woods Rogers*, who run along the N. E. coaſt of theſe iſles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle deſcents from hill to hill, and ſeemed to be good ground, interſperſed with woods, and not deſtitute of harbours. Either of theſe places, as they are iſlands at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent, may be ſuppoſed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate ſufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at preſent recommended as the moſt eligible places of refreſhment for ſhips bound to the ſouthward: but if the admiralty ſhould think it adviſeable to order them to be ſurveyed, which may be done at a very ſmall expence, by a veſſel fitted out on purpoſe; and if, on this examination, one or both of theſe places ſhould appear proper for the purpoſe intended, it is ſcarcely to be conceived of what

prodigious

prodigious import a convenient ſtation might prove, ſituated ſo far to the ſouthward, and ſo near Cape *Horn*. The Duke and Ducheſs of *Briſtol* were but thirty-five days from their loſing ſight of *Falkland's* Iſles to their arrival at *Juan Fernandes* in the *South Seas*: and as the returning back is much facilitated by the weſtern winds, I doubt not but a voyage might be made from *Falkland's* Iſles to *Juan Fernandes* and back again, in little more than two months. This, even in time of peace, might be of great conſequence to this nation; and, in time of war, would make us maſters of thoſe ſeas.

And as all diſcoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to thoſe who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconſiderable expence, ſince ſmall veſſels are much the propereſt to be employed in this ſervice; it were to be wiſhed, that the whole coaſt of *Patagonia*, *Terra del Fuego*, and *Staten-land*, were carefully ſurveyed, and the numerous channels, roads, and harbours, with which they abound, were accurately examined. This might open to us facilities of paſſing into the *Pacific* Ocean which as yet we may be unacquainted with, and would render all that ſouthern navigation infinitely ſecurer than at preſent; particularly, an exact draught of the Weſt coaſt of *Patagonia*, from the Straits of *Magellan* to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, might perhaps furniſh us with better and more convenient ports for refreſhment, and better ſituated for the purpoſes either of war or commerce, and above a fortnight's ſail nearer to *Falkland's* Iſland, than the iſland of *Juan Fernandes*. The diſcovery of this coaſt hath formerly been thought of ſuch conſequence, by reaſon of its neighbourhood to the *Araucos* and other *Chilian Indians*, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms, with their *Spaniſh* neighbours, that Sir *John Narborough* was purpoſely fitted out, in the reign of King *Charles* II, to ſurvey the Straits of *Magellan*, the neighbouring coaſt of *Patagonia*, and the *Spaniſh* ports on that frontier; with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the *Chilian Indians*, and to eſtabliſh a commerce and a laſting correſpondence with them. His Majeſty's views in employing Sir *John Narborough* in this expedition, were not ſolely the advantage he might hope to receive from the alliance of thoſe ſavages, in reſtraining and intimidating the crown of *Spain*; but he conceived, that, independent of thoſe motives, the immediate

diate traffick with theſe *Indians* might prove extremely advantageous to the *Engliſh* nation; for it is well known, that, at the firſt diſcovery of *Chili* by the *Spaniards*, it abounded with vaſt quantities of gold, much beyond what it has at any time produced ſince it has been in their poſſeſſion. And hence it has been generally believed, that the richeſt mines are careſully concealed by the *Indians*, as well knowing that the diſcovery of them would only excite in the *Spaniards* a greater thirſt for conqueſt and tyranny, and would render their own independence more precarious. But, with reſpect to their commerce with the *Engliſh*, theſe reaſons would no longer influence them; ſince it would be in our power to furniſh them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, of which they are extremely deſirous, together with many other conveniencies which their intercourſe with the *Spaniards* has taught them to reliſh. They would then, in all probability, open their mines, and gladly embrace a traffick of ſuch mutual convenience to both nations; for then their gold, inſtead of proving an incitement to enſlave them, would procure them weapons, to aſſert their liberty, to chaſtiſe their tyrants, and to ſecure themſelves for ever from the *Spaniſh* yoke; whilſt, with our aſſiſtance, and under our protection, they might become a conſiderable people, and might ſecure to us that wealth, which formerly by the houſe of *Auſtria*, and lately by the houſe of *Bourbon*, has been moſt miſchievouſly laviſhed in the purſuit of univerſal monarchy.

It is true, Sir *John Narborough* did not ſucceed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promiſed ſo many advantages to this nation. However, his diſappointmeet was merely accidental, and his tranſactions upon that coaſt (beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than any objection againſt them; his principal misfortune being the loſing company of a ſmall bark which attended him, and having ſome of his people trapanned at *Baldivia*. However, it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the *Spaniards*, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences. It is ſaid, that his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second was ſo far prepoſſeſſed with the belief of the emoluments which might redound to the public from this

this expedition, and was ſo eager to be informed of the event of it, that, having intelligence of Sir *John Narborough's* paſſing through the *Downs* on his return, he had not patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himſelf in his barge to *Graveſend* to meet him.

To facilitate, as much as poſſible, any attempts of this kind, which may be hereafter undertaken, I have, in the thirteenth plate, given a chart of that part of the world, as far as it is hitherto known, which I flatter myſelf is in ſome reſpects much correcter than any which has been yet publiſhed. To evince which, it may be neceſſary to mention what materials I have principally made uſe of, and what changes I have introduced different from other authors.

The two moſt celebrated charts hitherto publiſhed of the ſouthermoſt part of *South America*, are thoſe of Dr. *Halley*, in his general chart of the magnetic variation, and of *Frezier* in his voyage to the *South Seas*. But, beſides theſe, there is a chart of the Straits of *Magellan*, and of ſome part of the adjacent coaſt, by Sir *John Narborough*, above-mentioned, which is doubtleſs infinitely exacter in that part than *Frezier's*, and in ſome reſpects ſuperior to *Halley's*, particularly in what relates to the longitudes of the different parts of thoſe Straits. The coaſt from Cape *Blanco* to *Terra del Fuego*, and thence to *Straits Le Maire*, we were in ſome meaſure capable of correcting by our own obſervations, as we ranged that ſhore generally in ſight of land. The poſition of the land, to the northward of the Straits of *Magellan*, on the Weſt ſide, is doubtleſs laid down in our chart but very imperfectly; and yet I believe it to be much nearer the truth than what has hitherto been done, as it is drawn from the information of ſome of the *Wager's* crew, who were ſhipwrecked on that ſhore, and afterwards coaſted it down, and as it agrees pretty nearly with the deſcription of ſome *Spaniſh* manuſcripts I have ſeen. The Channel dividing *Terra del Fuego* is drawn from *Frezier*; but Sir *Francis Drake*, who firſt diſcovered Cape *Horn*, and the S. W. part of *Terra del Fuego*, obſerved that whole coaſt to be divided by a great number of inlets, all which he conceived did communicate with the Straits of *Magellan*. And I doubt not that, whenever this country is thoroughly examined, this circumſtance will be verified, and *Terra del Fuego* will be found to conſiſt of ſeveral Iſlands.

And

And having mentioned *Frezier* ſo often, I muſt not omit warning all future navigators againſt relying on the longitude of Straits *Le Maire*, or of any part of that coaſt, laid down in his chart; the whole being from 8 to 10 degrees too far to the eaſtward, if any faith can be given to the concurrent evidences of a great number of journals, verified in ſome particulars by aſtronomical obſervation. For inſtance, Sir *John Narborough* places Cape *Virgin Mary* in 65° : 42′ of Weſt longitude from the *Lizard*, that is in about 71° ⅓ from *London*. And the ſhips of our ſquadron, who took their departure from *St. Catharine's* (where the longitude was rectified by an obſervation of the eclipſe of the moon) found Cape *Virgin Mary* to be from 70 ¾ to 72 ½ from *London*, according to their different reckonings: and ſince there were no circumſtances in our run that could render it conſiderably erroneous, it cannot be eſteemed in leſs than 71 degrees of Weſt longitude; whereas *Frezier* lays it down in leſs than 66 degrees from *Paris*, that is, little more than 63 degrees from *London*, which is doubtleſs 8 degrees ſhort of its true quantity. Again, our ſquadron found Cape *Virgin Mary* and Straits *Le Maire* to be not more than 2° ½ different in longitude, which in *Frezier* are diſtant near 4 degrees; ſo that not only the longitude of Cape *St. Bartholomew* is laid down in him near 10 degrees too little, but the coaſt from the Straits of *Magellan* to Straits *Le Maire* is enlarged to near double its real extent.

But to have done with *Frezier*, whoſe errors, the importance of the ſubject, and not a fondneſs for caviling, has obliged me to remark, though his treatment of Dr. *Halley* might, on the preſent occaſion, authorize much ſeverer uſage; I muſt, in the next place, relate wherein the chart I have here inſerted differs from that of our learned countryman laſt mentioned.

It is well known that this gentleman was ſent abroad by the public, to make ſuch geographical and aſtronomical obſervations, as might facilitate the future practice of navigation, and particularly to determine the variation of the compaſs in ſuch places as he ſhould touch at, and, if poſſible, to aſcertain its general laws and affections. Theſe things Dr. *Halley*, to his immortal reputation, and honour of our nation, in good meaſure accompliſhed, eſpecially with regard to the variation of the compaſs, a ſubject, of all others, the moſt intereſting to thoſe employed in the art of navigation.

tion. He likewiſe corrected the poſition of the coaſt of *Brazil*, which had been very erroneouſly laid down by all former hydographers; and, from a judicious compariſon of the obſervations of others, he happily ſucceeded in ſettling the geography of many conſiderable places, where he had not himſelf been. So that the chart he compoſed, with the variation of the needle marked thereon, being the reſult of his labours on this ſubject, was allowed by all *Europe* to be far compleater in its geography than any that had till then been publiſhed, whilſt it was at the ſame time moſt ſurprizingly exact in the quantity of variation aſſigned to the different parts of the globe; a ſubject ſo very intricate and perplexing, that all general determinations about it had been uſually deemed impoſſible.

But as the only means he had of correcting the ſituation of thoſe coaſts where he did not touch himſelf, were the obſervations of others; when thoſe obſervations were wanting, or were inaccurate, it was no imputation on his ſkill, that his deciſions were defective. And this, upon the beſt compariſon I have been able to make, is the caſe with regard to that part of his chart which contains the South coaſt of *South America*; for though the coaſt of *Brazil*, and the oppoſite coaſt of *Peru* on the *South Seas* are laid down, I preſume, with the greateſt accuracy; yet from about the river of *Plate* on the Eaſt ſide, and its oppoſite point on the Weſt, the coaſt gradually declines too much to the weſtward, ſo as at the Straits of *Magellan* to be, as I conceive, about fifty leagues removed from its true poſition: at leaſt, this is the reſult of the obſervations of our ſquadron, which agree extremely well with thoſe of Sir *John Narborough*. I muſt add, that Dr. *Halley* has, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, given the foundation on which he has proceeded, in fixing Port *St. Julian* in 76° $\frac{1}{2}$ of Weſt longitude: which the concurrent journals of our ſquadron place from 70 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 71° $\frac{1}{2}$. This, he tells us, was an obſervation of an eclipſe of the moon, made at that place by Mr. *Wood*, then Sir *John Narborough's* lieutenant, and which is ſaid to have happened there at eight in the evening, on the 18th of *September*, 1670. But Captain *Wood's* journal of this whole voyage under Sir *John Narborough* is ſince publiſhed, together with this obſervation, in which he determines the longitude of Port *St. Julian* to be 73 degrees from *London*, and the time of the eclipſe to have been different from Dr. *Halley's* account.

count. But the numbers he has given are ſo faultily printed, that nothing can be determined from them.

To what I have already mentioned with regard to the chart hereunto annexed, I ſhall only add that, to render it more compleat, I have inſerted therein the route of our ſquadron, and have delineated, in the paſſage round Cape *Horn*, both the real track which we deſcribed, and the imaginary track exhibited by our reckoning; whence the violence of the currents in that part of the world, and the enormous deviations which they produce, will appear by inſpection. And that no material article might be omitted in this important affair, the ſoundings on the coaſt of *Patagonia*, and the variation of the magnetic needle, are annexed to thoſe parts of this track, where, by our obſervations, we found them to be of the quantity there ſpecified.

CHAP. X.

From Cape Noir *to the Iſland of* Juan Fernandes.

AFTER the mortifying diſappointment of falling in with the coaſt of *Terra del Fuego*, when we eſteemed ourſelves ten degrees to the weſtward of it; as hath been at large recited in the eighth chapter, we ſtood away to the S. W. till the 22d of *April*, when we were in upwards of 60° of South latitude, and by our account near 6° to the weſtward of Cape *Noir*; in this run we had a ſeries of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better ſeaſon: ſo that this interval, ſetting the inquietude of our thoughts aſide, was by far the moſt eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits *Le Maire* to the Weſt coaſt of *America*. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow freſh, and ſoon increaſed to a prodigious ſtorm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we loſt ſight of the other four ſhips of the ſquadron, which, notwithſtanding the violence of the preceding ſtorms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our ſole misfortune; for the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-ſails, the clue-lines and bunt-

bunt-lines broke, and the ſheets being half flown, every ſeam in the top-ſails was ſoon ſplit from top to bottom, and the main top-ſail ſhook ſo ſtrongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the maſt; however, at length, ſome of the moſt daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the ſail away cloſe to the reefs, though with the utmoſt hazard of their lives; whilſt, at the ſame time, the foretop ſail beat about the yard with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon blown to pieces; nor was our attention to our top-ſails our ſole employment, for the main-ſail blew looſe, which obliged us to lower down the yard to ſecure the ſail, and the fore yard being likewiſe lowered, we lay-to under a mizen: in this ſtorm, beſides the loſs of our top-ſails, we had much of our rigging broke, and loſt a main ſtudding-ſail-boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to ſway up our yards, and to repair, in the beſt manner we could, our ſhattered rigging; but ſtill we had no ſight of the reſt of our ſquadron, nor indeed we were joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at *Juan Fernandes*; nor did any two of them, as we have ſince learned, continue in company together: this total and almoſt inſtantaneous ſeparation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for ſeven weeks, through all the reiterated tempeſts of this turbulent climate. It muſt indeed be owned, that we had hence room to expect, that we might make our paſſage in a ſhorter time than if we had continued together, becauſe we could now make the beſt of our way, without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ſhips; but then we had the melancholy reflexion, that we ourſelves were hereby deprived of the aſſiſtance of others, and our ſafety would depend upon our ſingle ſhip; ſo that, if a plank ſtarted, or any other accident of the ſame nature ſhould take place, we muſt all irrecoverably periſh; or, ſhould we be driven on ſhore, we had the uncomfortable proſpect of ending our days on ſome deſolate coaſt, without any reaſonable hope of ever getting off again: whereas, with another ſhip in company, all theſe calamities are much leſs formidable, ſince, in every kind of danger, there would be ſome probability that one ſhip at leaſt might eſcape, and might be capable of preſerving or relieving the crew of the other.

The

The remaining part of this month of *April* we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, ſince the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the laſt day of the month, we flattered ourſelves with the expectation of ſoon terminating all our ſufferings, for we that day found ourſelves in the latitude of 52° : 13′, which being to the northward of the Straits of *Magellan*, we were aſſured that we had compleated our paſſage, and had arrived in the confines of the ſouthern ocean; and this ocean being denominated *Pacific*, from the equability of the ſeaſons which are ſaid to prevail there, and the facility and ſecurity with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we ſhould be ſpeedily cheared with the moderate gales, the ſmooth water, and the temperate air, for which that track of the globe has been ſo renowned; and, under the influence of theſe pleaſing circumſtances, we hoped to experience ſome kind of compenſation for the complicated miſeries which had ſo conſtantly attended us for the laſt eight weeks. But here we were again diſappointed; for in the ſucceeding month of *May*, our ſufferings roſe to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we conſider the violence of the ſtorms, the ſhattering of our ſails and rigging, or the diminiſhing and weakening of our crew by deaths and ſickneſs, and the probable proſpect of our total deſtruction. All this will be ſufficiently evident, from the following circumſtantial account of our diverſified misfortunes.

Soon after our paſſing Straits *Le Maire*, the ſcurvy began to make its appearance amongſt us; and our long continuance at ſea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various diſappointments we met with, had occaſioned its ſpreading to ſuch a degree, that at the latter end of *April* there were but few on board who were not in ſome degree afflicted with it, and in that month no leſs than forty-three died of it on board the *Centurion*. But, though we thought that the diſtemper had then riſen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that, as we advanced to the northward, its malignity would abate; yet we found, on the contrary, that in the month of *May* we loſt near double that number: and as we did not get to land till the middle of *June*, the mortality went on increaſing, and the diſeaſe extended itſelf ſo prodigiouſly, that, after the loſs of above two hundred men, we could not at laſt muſter more than ſix fore-maſt men in a watch capable of duty.

This diſeaſe, ſo frequently attending long voyages, and ſo particularly deſtructive to us, is ſurely the moſt ſingular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body: its ſymptoms are inconſtant and innumerable, and its progreſs and effects extremely irregular; for ſcarcely any two perſons have complaints exactly reſembling each other, and where there hath been found ſome conformity in the ſymptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diſeaſes, and is therefore not to be deſcribed by any excluſive and infallible criterions; yet there are ſome ſymptoms which are more general than the reſt, and, occurring the oftener, deſerve a more particular enumeration. Theſe common appearances are large diſcoloured ſpots diſperſed over the whole ſurface of the body, ſwelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extraordinary laſſitude of the whole body, eſpecially after any exerciſe, however inconſiderable; and this laſſitude at laſt degenerates into a proneneſs to ſwoon, and even die, on the leaſt exertion of ſtrength, or even on the leaſt motion.

This diſeaſe is likewiſe uſually attended with a ſtrange dejection of the ſpirits, and with ſhiverings, tremblings, and a diſpoſition to be ſeized with the moſt dreadful terrors on the ſlighteſt accident. Indeed it was moſt remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever diſcouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the diſtemper; for it uſually killed thoſe who were in the laſt ſtages of it, and confined thoſe to their hammocks who were before capable of ſome kind of duty; ſo that it ſeemed as if alacrity of mind, and ſanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preſervatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not eaſy to compleat the long roll of the various concomitants of this diſeaſe: for it often produced putrid fevers, pleuriſies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains: and ſometimes it occaſioned an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing, and this was eſteemed the moſt deadly of all the ſcorbutic ſymptoms: at other times the whole body, but more eſpecially the legs, were ſubject to ulcers of the worſt kind, attended with rotten bones, and ſuch a luxuriancy of fungous fleſh, as yielded to no remedy. But a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, and what would be ſcarcely credible upon any ſingle

ſingle evidence, is, that the ſcars of wounds which had been for many years healed were forced open again by this virulent diſtemper; of this, there was a remarkable inſtance in one of the invalids on board the *Centurion*, who had been wounded above fifty years before, at the battle of the *Boyne*; for though he was cured ſoon after, and had continued well for a great number of years paſt, yet, on his being attacked by the ſcurvy, his wounds, in the progreſs of his diſeaſe, broke out afreſh, and appeared as if they had never been healed: nay, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been compleatly formed for a long time, was found to be hereby diſſolved, and the fracture ſeemed as if it had never been conſolidated. Indeed, the effects of this diſeaſe were in almoſt every inſtance wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconſiderable ſhare of health, for they eat and drank heartily, were chearful, and talked with much ſeeming vigour, and with a loud ſtrong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the leaſt moved, though it was only from one part of the ſhip to the other, and that too in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their ſeeming ſtrength, and have reſolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck; nor was it an uncommon thing for thoſe who were able to walk the deck, and to do ſome kind of duty, to drop down dead in an inſtant, on any endeavours to act with their utmoſt effort. Many of our people have periſhed in this manner during the courſe of this voyage.

With this terrible diſeaſe we ſtruggled the greateſt part of the time of our beating round Cape *Horn*; and though it did not then rage with its utmoſt violence, yet we buried no leſs than forty-three men on board the *Centurion*, in the month of *April*, as hath been already obſerved; however, we ſtill entertained hopes, that, when we ſhould have once ſecured our paſſage round the Cape, we ſhould put a period to this, and all the other evils which had ſo conſtantly purſued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the *Pacific* Ocean was to us leſs hoſpitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of *Terra del Fuego* and Cape *Horn*; for being arrived, on the 8th of *May*, off the iſland of *Socoro*, which was the firſt rendezvous appointed for the ſquadron, and where

we hoped to have met with ſome of our companions, we cruiſed for them in that ſtation ſeveral days. But here we were not only diſappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy ſuggeſtions of their having all periſhed; but we were likewiſe perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on ſhore upon this coaſt, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the leaſt proſpect that, in ſuch a caſe, any of us could poſſibly eſcape immediate deſtruction. For the land had indeed a moſt tremendous aſpect: the moſt diſtant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains uſually called the *Andes* or *Cordilleras*, was extremely high, and covered with ſnow; and the coaſt itſelf ſeemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge ſkirted with precipices. In ſome places indeed we diſcerned ſeveral deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them were generally blocked up by numbers of little iſlands: and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient ſhelter in ſome of thoſe bays, and proper channels leading thereto; yet, as we were utterly ignorant of the coaſt, had we been driven aſhore by the weſtern winds which blew almoſt conſtantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loſs of our ſhip and of our lives.

This continued peril, which laſted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ſhip; as the ſcurvy had by this time deſtroyed ſo great a part of our hands, and had, in ſome degree, affected almoſt the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds leſs violent, as we advanced to the northward: for we had often prodigious ſqualls, which ſplit our ſails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our maſts. Indeed, during the greateſt part of the time we were upon this coaſt, the wind blew ſo hard, that, in another ſituation, where we had ſufficient ſea-room, we ſhould certainly have lain to; but, in the preſent exigency, we were neceſſitated to carry both our courſes and top ſails in order to keep clear of this lee-ſhore. In one of theſe ſqualls, which was attended by ſeveral violent claps of thunder, a ſudden flaſh of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of ſeveral piſtols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it it paſſed, marking them in different parts of

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the body: this flame was attended with a ſtrong ſulphureous ſtench, and was doubtleſs of the ſame nature with the larger and more violent blaſts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endleſs to recite minutely the various diſaſters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coaſt; all theſe went on increaſing till the 22d of *May*, at which time, the fury of all the ſtorms which we had hitherto encountered ſeemed to be combined, and to have conſpired our deſtruction. In this hurricane almoſt all our ſails were ſplit, and great part of our ſtanding-rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown ſea took us upon our ſtarboard quarter, and gave us ſo prodigious a ſhock, that ſeveral of our ſhrouds broke with the jerk, by which our maſts were greatly endangered; our ballaſt and ſtores too were ſo ſtrangely ſhifted, that the ſhip heeled afterwards two ſtreaks to port. Indeed it was a moſt tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation from the apprehenſion of inſtantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more ſails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ſhip laboured very much in a hollow ſea, rolling gunwale-to, for want of ſail to ſteady her; ſo that we expected our maſts, which were now very ſlenderly ſupported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourſelves the beſt we could, to ſtirrup our ſhrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our ſails; but, while theſe neceſſary operations were carrying on, we ran great riſque of being driven on ſhore on the iſland of *Chiloe*, which was not far diſtant from us; but in the midſt of our peril the wind happily ſhifted to the ſouthward, and we ſteered off the land with the main-ſail only, the maſter and myſelf undertaking the management of the helm, while every one elſe on board was buſied in ſecuring the maſts, and bending the ſails as faſt as they could be repaired. This was the laſt effort of that ſtormy climate; for in a day or two after we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced ſince our paſſing Straits *Le Maire*. And now, having cruized in vain for more than a fortnight in queſt of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, it was reſolved to take the advantage of the preſent favourable ſeaſon and the offing we had made from this terrible coaſt, and to make the beſt of our way for the iſland of *Juan Fernandez*;

for though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of *Baldivia*, yet as we had hitherto ſeen none of our companions at this firſt rendezvous, it was not to be ſuppoſed that any of them would be found at the ſecond: indeed, we had the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that all but ourſelves had periſhed. Beſides, we were by this time reduced to ſo low a condition, that, inſtead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmoſt hopes could only ſuggeſt to us the poſſibility of ſaving the ſhip, and ſome part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our ſpeedy arrival at *Juan Fernandes*; for this was the only road in that part of the world where there was any probability of our recovering our ſick, or refitting our veſſel, and conſequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid periſhing at ſea.

Our deplorable ſituation then allowing no room for deliberation, we ſtood for the iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; and, to ſave time, which was now extremely precious (our men dying four, five, and ſix in a day), and likewiſe to avoid being engaged again with a lee-ſhore, we reſolved, if poſſible, to hit the iſland upon a meridian; and, on the 28th of *May*, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of ſeeing it: but not finding it in the poſition in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the weſtward; and therefore, though the Commodore himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded that he ſaw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the hazineſs of the weather gave ſome kind of countenance, it was, on a conſultation, reſolved to ſtand to the eaſtward, in the parallel of the iſland; as it was certain that, by this courſe, we ſhould either fall in with the iſland, if we were already to the weſtward of it; or ſhould at leaſt make the mainland of *Chili*, from whence we might take a new departure, and aſſure ourſelves, by running to the weſtward afterwards, of not miſſing the iſland a ſecond time.

On the 30th of *May*, we had a view of the continent of *Chili*, diſtant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white; what we ſaw being doubtleſs a part of the *Cordilleras*,

Cordilleras, which are always covered with ſnow. Though by this view of the land we aſcertained our poſition, yet it gave us great uneaſineſs to find that we had ſo needleſsly altered our courſe, when we were, in all probability, juſt upon the point of making the iſland; for the mortality amongſt us was now increaſed to a moſt dreadful degree, and thoſe who remained alive were utterly diſpirited, by this new diſappointment, and the proſpect of their longer continuance at ſea: our water too began to grow ſcarce; ſo that a general dejection prevailed amongſt us, which added much to the virulence of the diſeaſe, and deſtroyed numbers of our beſt men; and to all theſe calamities there was added this vexatious circumſtance, that when, after having got a ſight of the main, we tacked and ſtood to the weſtward in queſt of the iſland, we were ſo much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it coſt us nine days to regain the weſting, which, when we ſtood to the eaſtward, we ran down in two. In this deſponding condition, with a crazy ſhip, a great ſcarcity of freſh weather, and a crew ſo univerſally diſeaſed that there were not above ten fore-maſt men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even ſome of theſe lame, and unable to go aloft: under theſe diſheartning circumſtances, we ſtood to the weſtward; and, on the 9th of *June*, at day-break, we at laſt diſcovered the long-wiſhed-for iſland of *Juan Fernandes*. With this diſcovery I ſhall cloſe this chapter and the firſt book, after obſerving (which will furniſh a very ſtrong image of our unparalleled diſtreſſes) that, by our ſuſpecting ourſelves to be to the weſtward of the iſland on the 28th of *May*, and, in conſequence of this, ſtanding in for the main, we loſt between ſeventy and eighty of our men, whom we ſhould doubtleſs have ſaved had we made the iſland that day, which, had we kept on our courſe for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

END *of* BOOK I.

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD, &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The arrival of the Centurion *at the Iſland of* Juan Fernandes, *with a deſcription of that Iſland.*

ON the 9th of *June*, at day-break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we firſt deſcried the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, bearing N. by E. ½ E. at eleven or twelve leagues diſtance. And though, on this firſt view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet, as it was land, and the land we ſought for, it was to us a moſt agreeable ſight: becauſe at this place only we could hope to put a period to thoſe terrible calamities we had ſo long ſtruggled with, which had already ſwept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at ſea, would inevitably have compleated our deſtruction; for we were by this time reduced to ſo helpleſs a condition, that, out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muſter hands enough to work the ſhip on an emergency, though we included the officers, their ſervants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we firſt made the iſland, we keyt plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ſhip in the middle watch, we had a melancholy inſtance of the almoſt incredible debility of our people, for the lieutenant could muſter no more than two quarter-maſters and ſix fore-maſt men capable of working; ſo that, without the aſſiſtance of the

officers, ſervants, and the boys, it might have proved impoſſible for us to have reached the iſland, after we had got ſight of it; and even with this aſſiſtance they were two hours in trimming the ſails: to ſo wretched a condition was a ſixty gun ſhip reduced, which had paſſed Straits *Le Maire* but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almoſt all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the iſland, and kept ranging along it, at about two miles diſtance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was deſcribed to be in a bay on the North ſide. Being now nearer in with the ſhore, we could diſcover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared ſo unpromiſing at a diſtance, were far from barren, being in moſt places covered with woods; and that between them there were every where interſperſed the fineſt vallies, clothed with a moſt beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous ſtreams and caſcades, no valley of any extent being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever taſted, and was conſtantly clear. The aſpect of this country, thus diverſified, would, at all times, have been extremely delightful; but in our diſtreſſed ſituation, languiſhing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions (an inclination conſtantly attending every ſtage of the ſea-ſcurvy), it is ſcarcely credible with what eagerneſs and tranſport we viewed the ſhore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreſhments which were then in ſight, and particularly the water, for of this we had been confined to a very ſparing allowance a conſiderable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Thoſe only who have endured a long ſeries of thirſt, and who can readily recal the deſire and agitation which the ideas alone of ſprings and brooks have at that time raiſed in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large caſcade of the moſt tranſparent water, which poured itſelf from a rock near a hundred feet high into the ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip. Even thoſe amongſt the diſeaſed who were not in the very laſt ſtages of the diſtemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the ſmall remains of ſtrength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck, to feaſt themſelves with this reviving proſpect. Thus we coaſted the ſhore, fully employed in the contemplation

of this enchanting landſcape, which ſtill improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at laſt the night ſurpriſed upon us, before we had ſatisfied ourſelves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we reſolved to keep in ſoundings all night (we having then from ſixty-four to ſeventy fathom), and to ſend our boat next morning to diſcover the road: however, the current ſhifted in the night, and ſet us ſo near the land, that we were obliged to let go the beſt bower in fifty-ſix fathom, not half a mile from the ſhore. At four in the morning, the cutter was diſpatched, with our third lieutenant, to find out the bay we were in ſearch of, who returned again at noon, with the boat laden with ſeals and graſs; for, though the iſland abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's crew, in their ſhort ſtay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even graſs would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all ſoon and eagerly devoured. The ſeals too were conſidered as freſh proviſion; but as yet were not much admired, though they grew afterwards into more repute: for what rendered them leſs valuable at this juncture was, the prodigious quantity of excellent fiſh, which the people on board had taken during the abſence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had diſcovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the weſtward of our preſent ſtation; and the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: but though, on this occaſion, we muſtered all the ſtrength we could, obliging even the ſick, who were ſcarce able to keep on their legs, to aſſiſt us; yet the capſtan was ſo weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down: after which, with our utmoſt efforts, and with many ſurges and ſome purchaſes we made uſe of to increaſe our power, we found ourſelves incapable of ſtarting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a freſh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to ſet the ſails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; and then we ſteered along ſhore, till we came abreaſt of the point that forms the eaſtern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, ſhifted and blew from thence in ſqualls; but, by means of the head-way we had got, we looſed cloſe in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-ſix fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we diſcovered a

ſail,

which we made no doubt was one of our ſquadron; and, on its nearer approach, we found it to be the *Tryal* ſloop. We immediately ſent ſome of our hands on board her, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We ſoon found that the ſloop had not been exempted from the ſame calamities which we had ſo ſeverely felt; for her commander, Captain *Saunders*, waiting on the Commodore, informed him that, out of his ſmall complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men; and thoſe that remained were ſo univerſally afflicted with the ſcurvy, that only himſelf, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to ſtand by the ſails. The *Tryal* came to an anchor within us, on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawſers on board her, in order to moor ourſelves nearer in ſhore; but the wind coming off the land in violent guſts prevented our mooring in the birth we intended. Indeed our principal attention was employed on buſineſs rather of more importance: for we were now extremely occupied in ſending on ſhore materials to raiſe tents for the reception of the ſick, who died apace on board, and doubtleſs the diſtemper was conſiderably augmented by the ſtench and filthineſs in which they lay; for the number of the diſeaſed was ſo great, and ſo few could be ſpared from the neceſſary duty of the ſails to look after them, that it was impoſſible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanlineſs, which had rendered the ſhip extremely loathſome between decks. Notwithſtanding our deſire of freeing the ſick from their hateful ſituation, and their own extreme impatience to get on ſhore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we ſent them all on ſhore, amounting to a hundred and ſixty-ſeven perſons, beſides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, on their being expoſed to the freſh air. The greateſt part of our ſick were ſo infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ſhip in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the ſame manner from the water-ſide to their tents, over a ſtony beach. This was a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy; and therefore the Commodore, according to his accuſtomed humanity, not only aſſiſted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without diſtinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakneſs of our ſick

may in some measure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found, that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy; and we flattered ourselves, that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour: yet, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those who survived recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Indeed those who were well enough, at their first getting on shore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time; but in the rest, the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

Having proceeded thus far, and got our sick on shore, I think it necessary, before I enter into any longer detail of our transactions, to give a distinct account of this island of *Juan Fernandes*, its situation, productions, and all its conveniencies. These particulars we were well enabled to be minutely instructed in, during our three months stay there; and as it is the only commodious place in those seas where *British* cruisers can refresh and recover their men after their passage round Cape *Horn*, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the *Spanish* coast, these its advantages will merit a circumstantial description. Indeed Mr. *Anson* was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great consequence these materials might prove to any *British* vessels hereafter employed in those seas; for the uncertainty we were in of its position, and our standing in for the main on the 28th of *May*, in order to secure a sufficient easting, when we were indeed extremely near it; cost us the lives of between seventy and eighty of our men, by our longer continuance at sea: from which fatal accident we might have been exempted, had we been furnished with such an account of its situation as we could fully have depended on.

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The Iſland of *Juan Fernandes* lies in the latitude of 33°: South, and is a hundred and ten leagues diſtant from the Continent of *Chili*. It is ſaid to have received its name from a *Spaniard*, who formerly procured a grant of it, and reſided there ſome time with a view of ſettling on it, but afterwards abandoned it. On approaching it on its eaſt ſide, it appears as repreſented in the fourteenth plate, where *(a)* is a ſmall Iſland, called *Goat Iſland*, to the S. W. of it; *(b)* a rock, called *Monkey Key*, almoſt contiguous to it; *(c)* is the Eaſt bay; *(d) Cumberland Bay*, where we moored, and which, as will be obſerved, is the beſt road for ſhipping; and *(e)* the Weſt way. The Iſland itſelf is of an irregular figure, as may be ſeen by a very exact plan of it in the 15th plate. Its greateſt extent is between four and five leagues, and its greateſt breadth ſomewhat ſhort of two leagues. The only ſafe anchoring at this Iſland is on the North ſide, where are the three bays mentioned above; but the middlemoſt, known by the name of *Cumberland Bay*, is the wideſt and deepeſt, and in all reſpects much the beſt; for the other two, denominated the Eaſt and Weſt bays, are ſcarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their caſk on ſhore. A plan of the N. E. ſide of the Iſland, containing theſe three bays, drawn by a large ſcale, is in plate the ſixteenth, where it appears, that *Cumberland Bay* is well ſecured to the ſouthward, and that it is only expoſed from the N. by W. to the E. by S.; and as the northerly winds ſeldom blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to. To diſtinguiſh this bay the better at ſea, I have added a very exact view of it, in the ſeventeenth plate, which will enable all future Navigators readily to know it.

As the bay laſt deſcribed, or *Cumberland Bay*, is by far the moſt commodious bay in the Iſland; ſo it is adviſeable for all ſhips to anchor on the weſtern ſide of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathom of water, and be in a great meaſure ſheltered from a large heavy ſea, which comes rolling in whenever an eaſtern or a weſtern wind blows. It is however expedient, in this caſe, to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or ſix fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the foulneſs of the ground.

I have

I have before obſerved, that a northerly wind, to which alone this bay is expoſed, very rarely blew during our ſtay here; and, as it was then winter, it may be ſuppoſed, in other ſeaſons, to be leſs frequent. Indeed, in thoſe few inſtances when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the high-lands on the ſouthward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reaſon to ſuppoſe that a few leagues off it blew with conſiderable ſtrength, ſince it ſometimes drove before it a prodigious ſea, in which we rode fore-caſtle in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended; yet the ſouthern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent guſts and ſqualls, which however rarely laſt longer than two or three minutes. This ſeems to be owing to the obſtruction of the ſouthern gale, by the hills in the neighbourhood of the bay; for the wind, being collected by this means, at laſt forces its paſſage through the narrow vallies, which, like ſo many funnels, both facilitate its eſcape, and increaſe its violence. Theſe frequent and ſudden guſts make it difficult for ſhips to work in with the wind off ſhore, or to keep a clear hawſe when anchored.

The northern part of this Iſland is compoſed of high craggy hills, many of them inacceſſible, though generally covered with trees. The ſoil of this part is looſe and ſhallow, ſo that very large trees on the hills ſoon periſh for want of root, and are then eaſily overturned; which occaſioned the unfortunate death of one of our ſailors, who, being upon the hills in ſearch of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to aſſiſt him in his aſcent; and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill; and though in his fall he faſtened on another tree of conſiderable bulk, yet that too gave way, and he fell amongſt the rocks, and was daſhed to pieces. Mr. *Brett* likewiſe met with an accident, only by reſting his back againſt a tree, near as large about as himſelf, which ſtood on a ſlope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a conſiderable diſtance, though without receiving any injury. Our priſoners (whom, as will be related in the ſequel, we afterwards brought in here) remarked, that the appearance of the hils in ſome part of the Iſland reſembled that of the mountains in *Chili*, where the gold is found; ſo that it is not impoſſible but mines might be diſcovered here. We obſerved, in ſome places, ſeveral hills of a pecaliar ſort of red

red earth, exceeding vermillion in colour, which, perhaps, on examination, might prove uſeful for many purpoſes. The ſouthern, or rather the S. W. part of the Iſland, as diſtinguiſhed in the plan, is widely different from the reſt, being dry, ſtony, and deſtitute of trees, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the Iſland is never frequented by ſhips, being ſurrounded by a ſteep ſhore, and having little or no freſh water; and beſides, it is expoſed to the ſoutherly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter ſolſtice very hard.

The trees of which the woods on the northern ſide of the Iſland are compoſed are moſt of them aromaticks, and of many different ſorts: there are none of them of a ſize to yield any conſiderable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largeſt on the Iſland, and ſupplied us with all the timber we made uſe of; but even theſe would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular as if it had been clipped by art: it bears on its bark an excreſcence like moſs, which in taſte and ſmell reſembles garlick, and was uſed by our people inſtead of it. We found here too the piemento-tree and likewiſe the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty. And, beſides a great number of plants of various kinds, which we were not botaniſts enough either to deſcribe or attend to, we found here almoſt all the vegetables which are uſually eſteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of thoſe ſcorbutic diſorders which are contracted by ſalt diet and long voyages; for here we had great quantities of water-creſſes and purſlain, with excellent wild ſorrel, and a vaſt profuſion of turnips and *Sicilian* radiſhes: theſe two laſt, having ſome reſemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We uſually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often ſtringy; though ſome of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. Theſe vegetables, with the fiſh and fleſh we got here, and which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe hereafter, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long courſe of ſalt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewiſe of the moſt ſalutary conſequence to our ſick, in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean ſervice to us who were well, in deſtroying the

the lurking ſeeds of the ſcurvy, from which perhaps none of us were totally exempt, and in refreſhing and reſtoring us to our wonted ſtrength and activity.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual uſe, I muſt add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were alſo ſome few cabbage-trees upon the Iſland, as was obſerved before; but, as they generally grew on the precipices, and in dangerous ſituations, and as it was neceſſary to cut down a large tree for every ſingle cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate and the looſeneſs of the ſoil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and *Sicilian* radiſhes: Mr. *Anſon*, therefore, having with him garden-ſeeds of all kinds, and ſtones of different ſorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who ſhould hereafter touch here, ſowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and ſet in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach ſtones; and theſe laſt he has been informed have ſince thriven to a very remarkable degree; for ſome gentlemen, who in their paſſage from *Lima* to *Old Spain* were taken and brought to *England*, having procured leave to wait upon Mr. *Anſon*, to thank him for his generoſity and humanity to his priſoners, ſome of whom were their relations, they, in caſual diſcourſe with him about his tranſactions in the *South Seas*, particularly aſked him, if he had not planted a great number of fruit-ſtones on the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; for they told him, their late Navigators had diſcovered there numbers of peach-trees and apricot-trees, which being fruits before unobſerved in that place, they concluded them to have been produced from kernels ſett by him.

This may in general ſuffice as to the ſoil and vegetable productions of this place; but the face of the country, at leaſt of the North part of the Iſland, is ſo extremely ſingular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular conſideration. I have already taken notice of the wild inhoſpitable air with which it firſt appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landſcape as we drew nearer, till we were at laſt captivated by the numerous beauties we diſcovered on the ſhore. And I muſt now add, that we found, during the

time,

time of our reſidence there, that the inland parts of the Iſland did no ways fall ſhort of the ſanguine prepoſſeſſions which we firſt entertained in their favour; for the woods, which covered moſt of the ſteepeſt hills, were free from all buſhes and underwood, and afforded an eaſy paſſage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the Iſland, neceſſarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic vallies, moſt of which had a ſtream of the cleareſt water running through them, that tumbled in caſcades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the courſe of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a ſudden ſharp deſcent: ſome particular ſpots occurred in theſe vallies, where the ſhade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftineſs of the overhanging rocks, and the tranſparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, preſented ſcenes of ſuch elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivaled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the ſimple productions of unaſſiſted nature may be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the moſt animated imagination. I ſhall finiſh this article with a ſhort account of that ſpot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own reſidence, though I deſpair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he choſe was a ſmall lawn, that lay on a little aſcent, at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea. In the front of his tent, there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the ſea-ſide, which, ſloping to the water with a gentle deſcent, opened a proſpect of the bay and the ſhips at anchor. This lawn was ſcreened behind by a tall wood of myrtle, ſweeping round it in the form of a theatre, the ſlope on which the wood ſtood riſing with a much ſharper aſcent than the lawn itſelf, though not ſo much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, beſides, two ſtreams of cryſtal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards diſtance, and were ſhaded by the trees which ſkirted the lawn on either ſide, and compleated the ſymmetry of the whole. Some faint conceptions of the elegance of this ſituation may perhaps be better deduced from the draught of it in the eighteenth plate.

It

It remains now only that we ſpeak of the animals and proviſions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this Iſland abounded with vaſt numbers of goats; and their accounts are not to be queſtioned, this place being the uſual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented thoſe ſeas. And there are two inſtances; one of a *Muſquito Indian*, and the other of *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scotchman*, who were left here by their reſpective ſhips, and lived alone upon this Iſland for ſome years, and conſequently were no ſtrangers to its produce. *Selkirk*, who was the laſt, after a ſtay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the *Duke* and *Dutcheſs* Privateers of *Briſtol*, as may be ſeen at large in the journal of their voyage: his manner of life, during his ſolitude, was in moſt particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumſtance he relates, which was ſo ſtrangely verified by our own obſervation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, amongſt other things, that, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he ſometimes marked their ears, and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the Iſland. Now it happened, that the firſt goat that was killed by our people at their landing had its ears ſlit, whence we concluded that he had doubtleſs been formerly under the power of *Selkirk*. This was indeed an animal of a moſt venerable aſpect, dignified with an exceeding majeſtic beard, and with many other ſymptoms of antiquity. During our ſtay on the Iſland, we met with others marked in the ſame manner, all the males being diſtinguiſhed by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteriſtick of extreme age.

But the greater numbers of goats, which former writers deſcribe to have been found upon this Iſland, are at preſent very much diminiſhed: as the *Spaniards*, being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the proviſions which goats-fleſh here furniſhed them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpoſe, they have put on ſhore great numbers of large dogs, who have increaſed apace, and have deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible part of the country; ſo that there now remain only a few amongſt the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. Theſe are divided into ſeparate herds, of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit diſtinct faſt-

neſſes,

neſſes, and never mingle with each other: by this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were ſo deſirous of their fleſh, which we all agreed much reſembled veniſon, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds; and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they ſcarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole Iſland. I remember we had once an opportunity of obſerving a a remarkable diſpute betwixt a herd of theſe animals, and a number of dogs; for going in our boat into the eaſtern bay, we perceived ſome dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to diſcover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars ſome time to view them, and at laſt ſaw them take to a hill, where looking a little further, we obſerved upon the ridge of it an herd of goats, which ſeemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path, ſkirted on each ſide by precipices, on which the maſter of the herd poſted himſelf fronting the enemy, the reſt of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open: as this ſpot was inacceſſible by any other path excepting where this champion had placed himſelf, the dogs, though they ran up-hill with great alacrity, yet when they came within about twenty yards of him, they found they durſt not encounter him (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice), but gave over the chace, and quietly laid themſelves down, panting at a great rate. Theſe dogs, who are maſters of all the acceſſible parts of the Iſland, are of various kinds, ſome of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They ſometimes came down to our habitations at night, and ſtole our proviſion; and once or twice they ſet upon ſingle perſons, but, aſſiſtance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any miſchief. As at preſent it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young ſeals; and indeed ſome of our people had the curioſity to kill dogs ſometimes and dreſs them, and it ſeemed to be agreed that they had a fiſhy taſte.

Goats-fleſh, as I have metioned, being ſcarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a day; and our people growing tired of fiſh (which, as I ſhall hereafter obſerve, abound at this place), they at laſt condeſcended to eat ſeals, which by degrees they came to reliſh, and called it lamb. The ſeal,

numbers

numbers of which haunt this Iſland, hath been ſo often mentioned by former writers, that it is unneceſſary to ſay any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a ſea-lion, that bears ſome reſemblance to a ſeal, though it is much larger. This too we eat, under the denomination of beef; and as it is ſo extraordinary an animal, I conceive it well merits a particular deſcription. They are in ſize, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference: they are extremely fat, ſo that, after having cut through the ſkin, which is about an inch in thickneſs, there is at leaſt a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of ſome of the largeſt afforded us a but of oil. They are likewiſe very full of blood; for, if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will inſtantly guſh out as many fountains of blood, ſpouting to a conſiderable diſtance; and, to try what quantity of blood they contained, we ſhot one firſt, and then cut its throat, and meaſuring the blood that came from him, we found that, beſides what remained in the veſſels, which to be ſure was conſiderable, we got at leaſt two hogſheads. Their ſkins are covered with ſhort hair, of a light dun colour; but their tails and their fins, which ſerve them for feet on ſhore, are almoſt black; their fins, or feet, are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of theſe fingers is furniſhed with a nail. They have a diſtant reſemblance to an overgrown ſeal, though in ſome particulars there is a manifeſt difference between them, eſpecially in the males. Theſe have a large ſnout or trunk hanging down five or ſix inches below the end of the upper jaw, which the females have not; and this renders the countenance of the male and female eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and beſides, the males are of a much larger ſize. The form and appearance both of the male and female are very exactly repreſented in the nineteenth plate, only the diſproportion of their ſize is not uſually ſo great as is there exhibited; for the male was drawn from the life, after the largeſt of theſe animals, which was found upon the Iſland: he was the maſter of the flock, and from his driving off the other males, and keeping a great number of females to himſelf, he was by the ſeamen ludicrouſly ſtyled the Baſhaw. Theſe animals

divide

divide their time equally between the land and ſea, continuing at ſea all the ſummer, and coming on ſhore at the ſetting in of the winter, where they reſide during that whole ſeaſon. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth; which they ſuckle with their milk, they being at firſt about the ſize of a full-grown ſeal. During the time theſe ſea-lions continue on ſhore, they feed on the graſs or verdure which grows near the banks of the freſh-water ſtreams; and, when not employed on feeding, ſleep in herds, in the moſt miry places they can find out. As they ſeem to be of a very lethargic diſpoſition, and are not eaſily wakened, each herd was obſerved to place ſome of their males at a diſtance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm them whenever any one attempted to moleſt or even to approach them; and they were very capable of alarming, even at a conſiderable diſtance, for the noiſe they make is very loud, and of different kinds, ſometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times ſnorting like horſes in full vigour. They often, eſpecially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females; and we were one day extremely ſurprized by the ſight of two animals, which at firſt appeared different from all we had ever obſerved; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two ſea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood: and the Baſhaw before-mentioned, who generally lay ſurrounded with a ſeraglio of females which no other male dared to approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody conteſts, of which the marks ſtill remained, in the numerous ſcars which were viſible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we eſteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to thoſe of bullocks: In general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of eſcaping or reſiſting; as their motion is the moſt unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their ſkins. However, a ſailor one day being careleſsly employed in ſkinning a young ſea-lion, the female from whence he had taken it came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, ſhe with her teeth ſcored his ſcull with notches in many places, and thereby wounded him ſo deſperately, that,

that, though all poſſible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

Theſe are the principal animals which we found upon the Iſland; for we ſaw but few birds, and thoſe chiefly hawks, Blackbirds, owls, and humming-birds. We ſaw not the bardela, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here; but, as we often met with their holes, we ſuppoſed that the dogs had deſtroyed them, as they have almoſt done the cats; for theſe were very numerous in *Selkirk's* time, but we ſaw not above one or two during our whole ſtay. However, the rats ſtill keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troubleſome to us, by infeſting our tents nightly.

But that which furniſhed us with the moſt delicious repaſts at this Iſland remains ſtill to be deſcribed. This was the fiſh, with which the whole bay was moſt plentifully ſtored, and with the greateſt variety; for we found here cod of a prodigious ſize; and, by the report of ſome of our crew who had been formerly employed in the *Newfoundland* fiſhery, not in leſs plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that Iſland. We caught alſo cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, ſilver fiſh, congers of a peculiar kind, and, above all, a black fiſh which we moſt eſteemed, called by ſome a chimney-ſweeper, in ſhape reſembling a carp. The beach indeed is every where ſo full of rocks and looſe ſtones, that there is no poſſibility of haling the ſeyne; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleaſed, ſo that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fiſh in about two or three hours time. The only interruption we ever met with, aroſe from great quantities of dog-fiſh and large ſharks, which ſometimes attended our boats, and prevented our ſport. Beſides the fiſh we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to ſize, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world: this was ſea cray-fiſh; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds apiece, were of a moſt excellent taſte, and lay in ſuch abundance, near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often ſtruck into them, in putting the boat to and from the ſhore.

Theſe are the moſt material articles relating to the accommodations, ſoil, vegetables, animals, and other productions

of

of the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; by which it muſt appear, how properly that place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable ſituation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape *Horn* had reduced us. And having thus given the reader ſome idea of the ſite and circumſtances of this place, which was to be our reſidence for three months; I ſhall now proceed, in the next chapter, to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, reſuming my narration from the 18th day of *June*, being the day in which the *Tryal* Sloop, having by a ſquall been driven out to ſea three days before, came again to her moorings, the day in which we finiſhed ſending our ſick on ſhore, and about eight days after our firſt anchoring at this Iſland.

CHAP. II.

The arrival of the Glouceſter *and the* Anna *Pink at the Iſland of* Juan Fernandes, *and the tranſactions at that place during this interval.*

THE arrival of the *Tryal* Sloop at this Iſland, ſo ſoon after we came there ourſelves, gave us great hopes of being ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the ſquadron; and we were for ſome days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in ſight. But, near a fortnight being elapſed without any of them having appeared, we began to deſpair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that had our ſhip continued ſo much longer at ſea, we ſhould every man of us have periſhed, and the veſſel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves; and this we had great reaſon to fear was the fate of our conſorts, as each hour added to the probability of theſe deſponding ſuggeſtions.

But, on the 21ſt of *June*, ſome of our people from an eminence on ſhore diſcerned a ſhip to leeward, with her courſes even with the horizon; and they, at the ſame time, particularly obſerved, that ſhe had no ſail abroad except her courſes and her main top-ſail. This circumſtance made them conclude that it was one of our ſquadron, which had probably ſuffered in her ſails and rigging as ſeverely as

we had done; but they were prevented from forming more definite conjecturues about her; for, after viewing her for a ſhort time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they loſt ſight of her. On this report, and no ſhip appearing for ſome days, we were all under the greateſt concern, ſuſpecting that her people were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, and ſo diminiſhed and weakened by ſickneſs as not to be able to ply up to windward; ſo that we feared that, after having been in ſight of the Iſland, her whole crew would notwithſtanding periſh at ſea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we diſcerned a ſail in the North-Eaſt quarter, which we conceived to be the very ſame ſhip that had been ſeen before; and our conjectures proved true: and about one o'clock ſhe approached ſo near, that we could diſtinguiſh her to be the *Glouceſter*. As we had no doubt of her being in great diſtreſs, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh, and vegetables, which was a very ſeaſonable relief to them; for our apprehenſions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more diſtreſſed ſituation. They had already thrown over-board two thirds of their complement; and of thoſe which remained alive, ſcarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their ſervants. They had been a conſiderable time at the ſmall allowance of a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had ſo little left, that, had it not been for the ſupply we ſent them, they muſt ſoon have died of thirſt. The ſhip plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, ſhe could not reach the road. However, ſhe continued in the offing the next day; but as ſhe had no chance of coming to an anchor, unleſs the wind and currents ſhifted, the Commodore repeated his aſſiſtance, ſending to her the *Tryal's* boat manned with the *Centurion's* people, and a farther ſupply of water and other refreſhments. Captain *Michel*, the captain of the *Glouceſter*, was under a neceſſity of detaining both this boat and that ſent the preceding day; for, without the help of their crews, he had no longer ſtrength enough to navigate the ſhip. In this tantalizing ſituation the *Gcouceſter* continued, for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at ſome times bidding very fair for it. On the

the 9th of *July*, we obſerved her ſtretching away to the eaſtward at a conſiderable diſtance, which we ſuppoſed was with a deſign to get to the ſouthward of the Iſland; but as we ſoon loſt ſight of her, and ſhe did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiouſly concerned, knowing that ſhe muſt be again in extreme diſtreſs for want of water. After great impatience about her, we diſcovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eaſtern point of the Iſland, but the wind, ſtill blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, Captain *Mitchel* made ſignals of diſtreſs, and our long boat was ſent to him, with a ſtore of water, and plenty of fiſh, and other refreſhments. And the long-boat being not to be ſpared, the cockſwain had poſitive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately; but, the weather proving ſtormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared ſhe was loſt, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all; however, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful ſight of the long-boat's ſails upon the water; on which we ſent the cutter immediately to her aſſiſtance, who towed her along-ſide in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long-boat had taken in ſix of the *Glouceſter's* ſick men, to bring them on ſhore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learnt that the *Glouceſter* was in a moſt dreadful condition, having ſcarcely a man in health on board, except thoſe they received from us; and, numbers of their ſick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the laſt ſupply ſent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diſeaſed muſt have all periſhed together, for want of water. Theſe calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy; for the *Glouceſter* had already ſpent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and ſhe was now no farther advanced than at the firſt moment ſhe made the Iſland; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever ſucceeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the ſame day her ſituation grew more deſperate than ever, for after ſhe had received our laſt ſupply of refreſhments, we again loſt ſight of her; ſo that we in general deſpaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy veſſel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilſt the neighbourhood

of that place, and of thoſe circumſtances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, ſerved only to aggravate their diſtreſs, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But ſhe was at laſt delivered from this dreadful ſituation, at a time when we leaſt expected it; for, after having loſt ſight of her for ſeveral days, we were pleaſingly ſurprized, on the morning of the 23d of *July*, to ſee her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing ſail; when we immediately diſpatched what boats we had to her aſſiſtance, and, in an hour's time from our firſt perceiving her, ſhe anchored ſafe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the aſſiſtance and refreſhments we ſo often ſent them, and how impoſſible it would have been for a man of them to have ſurvived, had we given leſs attention to their wants; for, notwithſtanding the water, the greens, and freſh proviſions, which we ſupplied them with, and the hands we ſent them to navigate the ſhip, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminiſhed, their ſick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithſtanding this indulgent care of the Commodore, they yet buried above three fourths of their crew, and a very ſmall proportion of the remainder were capable of aſſiſting in the duty of the ſhip. On their coming to an anchor, our firſt endeavours were to aſſiſt them in mooring, and our next to ſend their ſick on ſhore. Theſe were now reduced by deaths to leſs than fourſcore, of which we expected to loſe the greateſt part; but whether it was, that thoſe fartheſt advanced in the diſtemper were all dead, or that the greens and freſh proviſions we had ſent on board had prepared thoſe which remained for a more ſpeedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their ſick were in general relieved and reſtored to their ſtrength in a much ſhorter time than our own had been when we firſt came to the Iſland, and very few of them died on ſhore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events, relating to the arrival of the *Glouceſter*, in one continued narration. I ſhall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ſhips, except our victualer, the *Anna Pink*, who came in about the middle of *Auguſt*, and whoſe hiſtory I ſhall defer for the preſent; as it is now high time to return to the account of our own tranſactions on board and on ſhore,

during

during the interval of the *Glouceſter's* frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the Iſland.

Our next employment, after ſending our ſick on ſhore from the *Centurion*, was cleanſing our ſhip, and filling our water. The firſt of theſe meaſures was indiſpenſably neceſſary to our future health; as the numbers of ſick, and the unavoidable negligence ariſing from our deplorable ſituation at ſea, had rendered the decks moſt intolerably loathſome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not leſs eſſential to our ſecurity, as we had reaſon to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which would oblige us to quit the Iſland at a very ſhort warning; for ſome appearances we had diſcovered on ſhore upon our firſt landing gave us grounds to believe, that there were *Spaniſh* cruiſers in theſe ſeas, which had left the Iſland but a ſhort time before our arrival, and might poſſibly return thither again, either for a recruit of water, or in ſearch of us; ſince we could not doubt but that the ſole buſineſs they had at ſea was to intercept us, and we knew that this Iſland was the likelieſt place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumſtances which gave riſe to theſe reflexions (in part of which we were not miſtaken, as ſhall be obſerved more at large hereafter) were our finding on ſhore ſeveral pieces of earthen jars, made uſe of in thoſe ſeas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be freſh broken: We ſaw too, many heaps of aſhes, and near them fiſh-bones and pieces of fiſh, beſides whole fiſh ſcattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a ſhort time out of the water, as they were but juſt beginning to decay. Theſe were certain indications that there had been ſhips at this place but a ſhort time before we came there; and as all *Spaniſh* merchant-men are inſtructed to avoid the Iſland, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded thoſe who had touched here to be ſhips of force; and, not knowing that *Pizarro* was returned to *Buenos Ayres*, and ignorant what ſtrength might have been fitted out at *Callao*, we were under ſome concern for our ſafety, being in ſo wretched and enfeebled a condition, that, notwithſtanding the rank of our ſhip, and the ſixty guns ſhe carried on board, which would only have aggravated our diſhonour, there was ſcarcely a privateer ſent to ſea, that was not an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary, and we were not

expoſed to the diſgrace, which might have been expected to have befallen us, had we been neceſſitated (as we muſt have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our ſixty-gun ſhip with no more than thirty hands.

Whilſt the cleaning our ſhip and the filling our water went on, we ſet up a large copper oven on ſhore near the ſick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ſhip's company; for, being extremely deſirous of recovering our ſick as ſoon as poſſible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and freſh fiſh, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reaſon to endeavour at the augmenting our preſent ſtrength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be inſignificant, was extremely alarming in our preſent helpleſs ſituation: of this, we had a troubleſome inſtance on the 30th of *June*; for, at five in the morning, we were aſtoniſhed by a violent guſt of wind directly off ſhore, which inſtantly parted our ſmall bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor; the ſhip at once ſwung off to the beſt bower, which happily ſtood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen ſeamen in the ſhip; and we were apprehenſive, if the ſquall continued, that we ſhould be driven to ſea in this wretched condition. However we ſent the boat on ſhore, to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind, ſoon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional ſtrength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we ſuſpected had received ſome damage from the foulneſs of the ground before it parted; and, agreeable to our conjecture, we found that ſeven fathom and an half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unſerviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the ſpare anchor, and got it over the ſhip's ſide; and the next morning, *July* 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ſhip in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the eaſtermoſt point now bearing from us E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S; the weſtermoſt N. W. by W; and the bay as before, S. S. W; a ſituation in which we remained ſecure for the future. However, we were much concerned for the loſs of our anchor, and ſwept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered

vered it; but the buoy having ſunk at the very inſtant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now, as we advanced in *July*, ſome of our men being tolerably recovered, the ſtrongeſt of them were put upon cutting down trees, and ſplitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-ſide: this they performed, ſome of them with the help of crutches, and others ſupported by a ſingle ſtick. We next ſent the forge on ſhore, and employed our ſmiths, who were but juſt capable of working, in mending our chain plates, and other broken and decayed iron work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not junk enough to make ſpun-yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the *Glouceſter*, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might diſpatch as faſt as poſſible in our refitting, we ſet up a large tent on the beach, for the ſail-makers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old ſails, and making us new ones. Theſe occupations, with our cleanſing and watering the ſhip (which was by this time pretty well compleated), the attendance on our ſick, and the frequent relief ſent to the *Glouceſter*, were the principal tranſactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the *Glouceſter* at an anchor in the bay. And then Captain *Mitchel*, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his laſt abſence, as far as the ſmall iſland called *Maſa-Fuero*, lying about twenty two leagues to the weſtward of *Juan Fernandes*; and that he endeavoured to ſend his boat on ſhore there for water, of which he could obſerve ſeveral ſtreams, but the wind blew ſo ſtrong upon the ſhore, and occaſioned ſuch a ſurf, that it was impoſſible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether uſeleſs, for his people returned with a boat-load of fiſh. This Iſland had been repreſented by former Navigators as a barren rock; but Captain *Mitchel* aſſured the Commodore, that it was almoſt every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impoſſible but ſome ſmall bay might be found on it, which might afford ſufficient ſhelter for any ſhip deſirous of refreſhing there.

As four ſhips of our ſquadron were miſſing, this deſcription of the Iſland of *Maſa Fuero* gave riſe to a conjecture, that

ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with that Iſland, and might have miſtaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. This ſuſpicion was the more plauſible, as we had no draught of either Iſland that could be relied on: and therefore Mr. *Anſon* determined to ſend the *Tryal* Sloop thither, as ſoon as ſhe could be fitted for the ſea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be ſatisfied whether any of our miſſing ſhips were there or not. For this purpoſe, ſome of our beſt hands were ſent on board the *Tryal* the next morning, to overhale and fix her rigging; and our long boat was employed in compleating her water; and whatever ſtores and neceſſaries ſhe wanted, were immediately ſupplied either from the *Centurion* or the *Glouceſter*. But it was the 4th of *Auguſt* before the *Tryal* was in readineſs to ſail, when, having weighed, it ſoon after fell calm, and the tide ſet her very near the eaſtern ſhore: Captain *Saunders* hung out lights, and fired ſeveral guns, to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were ſent to his relief, who towed the ſhip into the bay; where ſhe anchored until the next morning, and then, weighing again, proceeded on her cruize with a fair breeze.

And now, after the *Glouceſter's* arrival, we were employed in earneſt in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the ſtripping our foremaſt, we were alarmed by diſcovering it was ſprung juſt above the partners of the upper deck. The ſpring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; however, the carpenters, on inſpecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fiſhing it with two leaves of an anchor-ſtock would render it as ſecure as ever; but, beſides this defect in our maſt, we had other difficulties in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to ſea much greater quantities of both than we had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with had occaſioned ſuch a conſumption of theſe ſtores, that we were driven to great ſtraits; as, after working up all our junk and old ſhrouds to make twice-laid cordage, we were at laſt obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging; and with all the canvas and remnants of old ſails that could be muſtered, we could only make up one compleat ſuit.

Towards the middle of *Auguſt*, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their ſick tents, and to build ſeparate huts for themſelves, as it was imagined that,

that, by living apart, they would be much cleanlier, and conſequently likely to recover their ſtrength the ſooner; but at the ſame time particular orders were given, that, on firing of a gun from the ſhip, they ſhould inſtantly repair to the water ſide. Their employment on ſhore was now either the procuring the refreſhments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the ſea-lions. This oil ſerved us for ſeveral purpoſes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ſhip's ſides, or, when worked up with wood-aſhes, to ſupply the uſe of tallow (of which we had none left) to give the ſhip boot-hoſe tops. Some of the men too were occupied in ſalting of cod; for there being two *Newfoundland* fiſhermen in the *Centurion*, the Commodore ſet them about laying in a conſiderable quantity of ſalted cod for a ſea-ſtore, though very little of it was uſed, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the ſcurvy as any other kind of ſalt proviſions.

I have before mentioned, that we had a copper-oven on ſhore, to bake bread for the ſick; but it happened that the greateſt part of the flour, for the uſe of the ſquadron, was embarked on board our victualer the *Anna Pink*: and I ſhould have mentioned, that the *Tryal* Sloop, at her arrival, had informed us, that on the 9th of *May* ſhe had fallen in with our victualer, not far diſtant from the continent of *Chili*, and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us ſome room to hope that ſhe was ſafe, and that ſhe might join us; but all *June* and *July* being paſt without any news of her, we then gave her over for loſt; and at the end of *July* the Commodore ordered all the ſhips to a ſhort allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only that we feared a deficiency; for, ſince our arrival at this iſland, we diſcovered that our former Purſer had neglected to take on board large quantities of ſeveral kinds of proviſions, which the Commodore had expreſsly ordered him to receive; ſo that the ſuppoſed loſs of our victualer was on all accounts a mortifying conſideration. However, on *Sunday*, the 16th of *Auguſt*, about noon, we eſpied a ſail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the *Centurion*, to call off the people from the ſhore; who readily obeyed the ſummons, repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And being now prepared for the re-

ception of this ſhip in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various ſpeculations about her; at firſt, many imagined it to be the *Tryal* Sloop returned from her cruize; though, as ſhe drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by obſerving ſhe was a veſſel with three maſts. Then other conjectures were eagerly canvaſſed, ſome judging it to be the *Severn*, others the *Pearl*, and ſeveral affirming that it did not belong to our ſquadron; but about three in the afternoon our diſputes were ended, by an unanimous perſuaſion that it was our victualer the *Anna Pink*. This ſhip, though, like the *Glouceſter*, ſhe had fallen in to the northward of the iſland, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the ſincereſt joy; for each ſhip's company was immediately reſtored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehenſions of our proviſions falling ſhort before we could reach ſome amicable port; a calamity which in theſe ſeas is of all others the moſt irretrievable. This was the laſt ſhip that joined us; and the dangers ſhe encountered, and the good fortune which ſhe afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a ſeparate narration, I ſhall refer them, together with a ſhort account of the other miſſing ſhips of the ſquadron, to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. III.

A ſhort narrative of what befel the Anna Pink *before ſhe joined us, with an account of the loſs of the* Wager, *and of the putting back of the* Severn *and* Pearl, *the two remaining ſhips of the ſquadron.*

ON the firſt appearance of the *Anna Pink*, it ſeemed wonderful to us how the crew of a veſſel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, ſhould be capable of working their ſhip in the manner they did, with ſo little appearance of debility and diſtreſs; but this difficulty was ſoon ſolved when ſhe came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in harbour ſince the middle of *May*, which was near a month before we arrived at *Juan Fernandes*; ſo that their ſufferings (the riſque they had run

of

of ſhipwreck only excepted) were greatly ſhort of what had been undergone by the reſt of the ſquadron. It ſeems, on the 16th of *May*, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues diſtant, in the latitude of 45° : 15′ South. On the firſt ſight of it they wore ſhip, and ſtood to the Southward, but their fore top-ſail ſplitting, and the wind being W. S. W, they drove towards the ſhore; and the Captain at laſt, either unable to clear the land, or, as others ſay, reſolved to keep the ſea no longer, ſteered for the coaſt, with a view of diſcovering ſome ſhelter amongſt the many Iſlands which then appeared in ſight; and about four hours after the firſt view of the land, the *Pink* had the good fortune to come to an anchor, to the eaſtward of the Iſland of *Inchin*; but, as they did not run ſufficiently near to the eaſt-ſhore of that Iſland, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briſkly, they were ſoon driven to the eaſtward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom ro thirty-five and ſtill continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of *May*, let go their ſheet-anchor. This, though it brought them up for a ſhort time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, till they came into ſixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on ſhore every moment, in a place where the coaſt was ſo very high, and ſteep too, that there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſaving the ſhip or cargo: as their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, conſiſting of ſixteen men and boys, gave themſelves over for loſt, apprehending that, if any of them by ſome extraordinary chance ſhould get on ſhore, they would, in all probability, be maſſacred by the ſavages on the coaſt: for theſe, knowing no other *Europeans* but *Spaniards*, it might be expected they would treat all ſtrangers with the ſame cruelty which they had ſo often and ſo ſignally exerted againſt their *Spaniſh* neighbours. Under theſe terrifying circumſtances, the *Pink* drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the ſhore; but at laſt, when the crew expected each inſtant to ſtrike, they perceived a ſmall opening in the land, which raiſed their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they ſteered for it, and found it to be a ſmall channel betwixt an iſland and the main, that led them into a moſt excellent harbour, which, for its ſecurity againſt all winds and ſwells, and the ſmoothneſs of its water, may perhaps compare with any in the known world.

And this place being ſcarcely two miles diſtant from the ſpot where they deemed their deſtruction inevitable, the horrors of ſhipwreck and of immediate death, which had ſo long and ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed them, vaniſhed almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of ſecurity, refreſhment, and repoſe.

In this harbour, diſcovered in this almoſt miraculous manner, the *Pink* came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawſer, and a ſmall anchor of about three hundred weight. Here ſhe continued for near two months; and here her people, who were many of them ill of the ſcurvy, were ſoon reſtored to perfect health, by the freſh proviſions of which they procured good ſtore, and the excellent water with which the adjacent ſhore abounded. As this place may prove of the utmoſt importance to future Navigators, who may be forced upon this coaſt by the weſterly winds, which are almoſt perpetual in that part of the world, I ſhall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the *Pink*, give the beſt account I could collect of this Port, its ſituation, conveniencies, and productions.

To facilitate the knowledge of this place to thoſe who may hereafter be deſirous of making uſe of it, there is in the twentieth plate a plan both of the harbour itſelf, and of the large bay before it through which the *Pink* drove. This plan is not perhaps in all reſpects ſo accurate as might be wiſhed, it being compoſed from the memorandums and rude ſketches of the maſter and ſurgeon, who were not, I preſume, the ableſt draughts-men. But as the principal parts were laid down by their eſtimated diſtances from each other, in which kind of eſtimations, is is well known, the greateſt part of ſailors are very dextrous, I ſuppoſe the errors are not very conſiderable. Its latitude, which is indeed a material point, is not well aſcertained, the *Pink* having no obſervation either the day before ſhe came here, or within a day of her leaving it; but it is ſuppoſed that it is not very diſtant from 45°: 30′ South, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour renders this uncertainty of leſs moment. The Iſland of *Inclin*, lying before the bay, is thought to be one of the Iſlands of *Chonos*, which are mentioned in the *Spaniſh* accounts, as ſpreading all along that coaſt; and are ſaid by them to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the *Spaniards*, and for

their

their cruelties to ſuch of that nation as have fallen into their hands; and it is poſſible too that the land, on which the harbour itſelf lies, may be another of thoſe Iſlands, and that the Continent may be conſiderably farther to the eaſtward. The depths of the water in the different parts of the Port, and the channels by which it communicates with the bay, are ſufficiently marked in the plan. But it muſt be remembered, that there are two coves in it where ſhips may conveniently heave down, the water being conſtantly ſmooth; and there are ſeveral fine runs of excellent freſh water, which fall into the harbour, ſome of them ſo luckily ſituated, that the caſks may be filled in the long-boat with an hoſe. The moſt remarkable of theſe is the ſtream drawn in the N. E. part of the Port. This is a freſh-water river, where the *Pink*'s people got ſome few mullets of an excellent flavour; [illegible] perſuaded that in a proper ſeaſon (it being [illegible]ther wi[illegible]ey were there) it abounded with fiſh. The principal refreſhments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, &c. (which after ſo long a continuance at ſea they devoured with great eagerneſs); ſhell-fiſh, as cockles and muſcles of an extraordinary ſize, and extremely delicious; and good ſtore of geeſe, ſhags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous, nor the trees and the face of the country deſtitute of verdure; whence in the ſummer many other ſpecies of freſh proviſion, beſides thoſe here enumerated, might doubtleſs be found there. Notwithſtanding the tales of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are ſufficient to give the leaſt jealouſy to any ſhip of ordinary force, or that their diſpoſition is by any means ſo miſchievous or mercileſs as hath hitherto been repreſented. With all theſe advantages, this place is ſo far removed from the *Spaniſh* frontier, and ſo little known to the *Spaniards* themſelves, that there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that, by proper precautions, a ſhip might continue here undiſcovered a long time. It is moreover a poſt of great defence; for, by poſſeſſing the Iſland that cloſes up the harbour, and which is acceſſible in very few places, a ſmall force might ſecure this Port againſt all the ſtrength the *Spaniards* could muſter in that part of the world; ſince this Iſland, towards the harbour is ſteep too, and has ſix fathom water cloſe to the ſhore, ſo that the *Pink* anchored within forty yards of it: whence it is obvious how im-

poſſible it would prove, either to board or to cut out any veſſel protected by a force poſted on ſhore within piſtol-ſhot, and where thoſe who were thus poſted could not themſelves be attacked. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped that the important uſes which this rude account of it ſeems to ſuggeſt, may hereafter recommend it to the conſideration of the public, and to the attention of thoſe who are more immediately intruſted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this deſcription of the place where the *Pink* lay for two months, it may expected that I ſhould relate the diſcoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coaſt, and the principal incidents during their ſtay there; but here I muſt obſerve, that, being only a few in number, they did not chuſe to detach any of their people on diſtant ſearches, but were perpetually terrified with the apprehenſion that they ſhould be attacked either by the *Spaniards* or the *Indians*; ſo that their excurſions were generally confined to that tract of land which ſurrounded the fort, and where they were never out of view of the ſhip: though, had they at firſt known how little foundation there was for theſe fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was ſo grown up with wood, and traverſed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it; whence no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to diſprove the relations given by *Spaniſh* writers, who have repreſented this coaſt as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people; for they were certain, that no ſuch inhabitants were there to be found, at leaſt during the winter ſeaſon; ſince, all the time they continued there, they ſaw no more than one *Indian* family, which came into the harbour in a periagua, about a month after the arrival of the *Pink*, and conſiſted of an *Indian* near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other ſtill at the breaſt. They ſeemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog, and a cat, a fiſhing net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, ſome bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, ſome worſted, a flint and ſteel, and a few roots of a yellow hue, and a very diſagreeable taſte, which ſerved them for bread. The maſter of the *Pink*, as ſoon as he perceived them, ſent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing leſt they might diſcover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions

tions for ſecuring them, but without any mixture of ill uſage or violence; for in the day time they were permitted to go where they pleaſed about the ſhip, but at night were locked up in the fore-caſtle. As they were fed in the ſame manner with the reſt of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they ſeemed greatly to reliſh, it did not at firſt appear that they were much diſſatisfied with their ſituation, eſpecially as the maſter took the *Indian* on ſhore when he went a ſhooting (who always ſeemed extremely delighted when the maſter killed his game), and as all the crew treated them with great humanity; but it was ſoon perceived that, though the woman continued eaſy and chearful, yet the man grew penſive and reſtleſs at his confinement. He ſeemed to be a perſon of good natural parts, and though not capable of converſing with the *Pink's* people [illegible] by ſigns, was yet very curious and inquiſitive, and ſhewed great dexterity in the manner of making himſelf underſtood. In particular, ſeeing ſo few people on board ſuch a large ſhip, he let them know, that he ſuppoſed they were once more numerous; and, to repreſent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid themſelves down on the deck, cloſing his eyes, and ſtretching himſelf out motionleſs, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the ſtrongeſt proof of his ſagacity was the manner of his getting away; for, after being in cuſtody on board the *Pink* eight days, the ſcuttle of the fore-caſtle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and ſtormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed ſcuttle, and then over the ſhip's ſide, into the yawl; and, to prevent being purſued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing a-ſtern, and immediately rowed a-ſhore. All this he conducted with ſo much diligence and ſecreſy, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not diſcovered by them, till the noiſe of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ſhip, gave them notice of his eſcape; and then it was too late either to prevent him, or to purſue him; for their boats being all a-driſt, it was a conſiderable time before they could contrive the means of getting on ſhore themſelves, to ſearch for their boats. The *Indian* too, by this effort, beſides the recovery of his liberty, was in ſome ſort revenged on thoſe who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loſs of

their

their boats, and by the terror he threw them in at his departure; for, on the firſt alarm of the watch, who cried out, *The Indians*, the whole ſhip was in the utmoſt confuſion, believing themſelves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

The reſolution and ſagacity with which the *Indian* behaved upon this occaſion, had it been exerted on a more extenſive object than the retrieving the freedom of a ſingle family, might perhaps have immortalized the exploit, and have given him a rank amongſt the illuſtrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late maſters did ſo much juſtice to his merit, as to own that it was a moſt gallant enterprize, and that they were grieved they had ever been neceſſitated, by their attention to their own ſafety, to abridge the liberty of a perſon, of whoſe prudence and courage they had given a diſtinguiſhed proof. As it was ſuppoſed by [illegible] that he ſtill continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might [illegible] for want of proviſions, they eaſily prevailed upon the maſter to leave a quantity of ſuch food as they thought he would be moſt agreeable to him, in a particular part, where they imagined he would be likely to find it; and there was reaſon to conjecture, that this piece of humanity was not altogether uſeleſs to him; for, on viſiting the place ſome time after, it was found that the proviſion was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were ſatisfied that this *Indian* ſtill continued near them; yet others would needs conclude, that he was gone to the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where they feared he would alarm the *Spaniards*, and would ſoon return with a force ſufficient to ſurprize the *Pink*: on this occaſion the maſter of the *Pink* was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it muſt be remembered (and there is a particular reaſon hereafter for attending to this circumſtance) that the maſter, from an oſtentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the ſetting of the watch. This he pretended was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the *Pink* was always on her guard; but it being now repreſented to him, that his great ſecurity was his concealment, and that the evening gun might poſſibly diſcover him, and ſerve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed

prevailed on to omit it for the future; and his crew being now well refreſhed, and their wood and water ſufficiently repleniſhed, he, in a few days after the eſcape of the *Indian*, put to ſea, and had a fortunate paſſage to the rendezvous at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, where he arrived on the 16th of *Auguſt*, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter.

This veſſel, the *Anna Pink*, was, as I have obſerved, the laſt that joined the Commodore at *Juan Fernandes*. The remaining ſhips of the ſquadron were the *Severn*, the *Pearl*, and the *Wager* ſtore-ſhip: the *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the ſquadron off Cape *Noir*, and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the *Brazils*; ſo that, of all the ſhips which came into the *South Seas*, the *Wager*, Captain *Cheap*, was the only one that was miſſing. this ſhip had on board a few field pieces mounted for land-ſervice, together with ſome coehorn mortars, and ſeveral kinds of artillery ſtores, and pioneer's tools, intended for the operations on ſhore; therefore, as their enterprize on *Baldivia* had been reſolved on for the firſt undertaking of the ſquadron, Captain *Cheap* was extremely ſolicitous that theſe materials, which were in his cuſtody, might be ready before *Baldivia*; that, if the ſquadron ſhould poſſibly rendezvous there (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to), no delay nor diſappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilſt the *Wager*, with theſe views, was making the beſt of her way to her firſt rendezvous off the Iſland of *Socoro*, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the ſquadron there) ſhe propoſed to ſteer directly for *Baldivia*, ſhe made the land on the 14th of *May*, about the latitude of 47° South; and the Captain exerting himſelf upon this occaſion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and diſlocated his ſhoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ſhip, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to ſea, and entangled her more and more with the land; inſomuch that the next morning, at day-break, ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and ſoon after bilged, and grounded between two ſmall Iſlands, at about a muſket-ſhot from the ſhore.

In this ſituation the ſhip continued entire a long time, ſo that all the crew had it in their power to get ſafe on ſhore; but

but a general confuſion taking-place, numbers of them, inſtead of conſulting their ſafety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ſhip, arming themſelves with the firſt weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who ſhould oppoſe them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got ſo extremely drunk, that ſome of them, falling down between decks, were drowned as the water flowed into the wreck, being incapable of raiſing themſelves up, and retreating from it. The Captain therefore, having done his utmoſt to get the whole crew on ſhore, was at laſt obliged to leave the mutineers to hand him, and to follow his officers, and ſuch as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to ſend back the boats, to perſuade thoſe who remained, to have ſome regard to their preſervation; though all his efforts were for ſome time without ſucceſs: however, the weather the next day proving ſtormy, and there being great danger of the ſhip's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of periſhing, and were deſirous of getting to land; but it ſeems their madneſs had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off ſo ſoon as they expected, they at laſt pointed a four pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, againſt the hut where they knew the Captain reſided on ſhore, and fired two ſhot, which paſſed but juſt over it.

From this ſpecimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame ſome conjecture of the diſorder and anarchy which took place, when they at laſt got all on ſhore; for the men conceived that, by the loſs of the ſhip, the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a deſolate coaſt, where ſcarcely any other proviſions could be got except what ſhould be ſaved out of the wreck, this was another unſurmountable ſource of diſcord; ſince the working upon the wreck, and the ſecuring the proviſions ſo that they might be preſerved for future exigencies as much as poſſible, and the taking care that what was neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence might be ſparingly and equally diſtributed, were matters not to be brought about but by diſcipline and ſubordination; and the mutinous diſpoſition of the people, ſtimulated by the impulſes of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpoſe ineffectual; ſo that there were continual concealments, frauds, and theft, which animated each man

man againſt his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and conteſts. And hence there was a perverſe and malevolent diſpoſition conſtantly kept up amongſt them, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Beſides theſe heart-burnings occaſioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which ſet the greateſt part of the people at variance with the Captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent exigency; for the Captain was determined, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward; ſince, having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten ſome fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could maſter any *Spaniſh* veſſel they ſhould encounter with in thoſe ſeas; and he thought he ſhould not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of *Chiloe* or *Baldivia*, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at *Juan Fernandes*; and he farther inſiſted that, ſhould they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would eaſily carry them thither: but this was a ſcheme that, however prudent, was no ways reliſhed by the generality of his people, for, being quite jaded with the diſtreſſes and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of proſecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved ſo diſaſtrous. The common reſolution therefore was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the reſt of the boats to ſteer to the ſouthward, to paſs through the Straits of *Magellan*, and to range along the Eaſt ſide of *South America*, till they ſhould arrive at *Brazil*, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a paſſage to *Great-Britain*. This project was at firſt ſight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was propoſed by the Captain; but, as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumſtance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with inſurmountable obſtinacy; ſo that the Captain himſelf, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquieſce in this reſolution, whilſt he endeavoured underhand to give all the obſtruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived

ſhould

ſhould be of ſuch a ſize, that, though it might ſerve to carry them to *Juan Fernandes*, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of ſo long a navigation as that to the coaſt of *Brazil*.

But the Captain, by his ſteady oppoſition at firſt to this favourite project, had much imbittered the people againſt him; to which likewiſe the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midſhipman, whoſe name was *Cozens*, who had appeared the foremoſt in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himſelf in brawls with the moſt of the officers who had adhered to the Captain's authority, and had even treated the Captain himſelf with great abuſe and inſolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the leaſt doubted but there were ſome violent meaſures in agitation, in which *Cozens* was engaged as the ringleader: for which reaſon the Captain, and thoſe about him, conſtantly kept themſelves on their guard. One day the Purſer having, by the Captain's order, ſtopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, *Cozens*, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterneſs, and groſsly inſulted the Purſer, who was then delivering out proviſions juſt by the Captain's tent, and was himſelf ſufficiently violent: the Purſer, enraged by this ſcurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out A MUTINY, adding THE DOG HAS PISTOLS, and then himſelf fired a piſtol at *Cozens*, which however miſſed him; but the Captain, on this outcry and the report of the piſtol, ruſhed out of his tent; and not doubting but it had been fired by *Cozens* as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately ſhot him in the head without farther deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the ſpot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However, this incident, though ſufficiently diſpleaſing to the people, did yet, for a conſiderable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more ſubmiſſive to the Captain's authority; but, at laſt, when towards the middle of *October* the long-boat was nearly compleated, and they were preparing to put to ſea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traverſing their project of proceeding through the Straits of *Magellan*, and their fears that he might at length engage a party ſufficient to overturn this favourite

favourite meaſure, made them reſolve to make uſe of the death of *Cozens* as a reaſon for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a priſoner to *England*, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to *England*, if their Commander ſhould be preſent to confront them: and therefore, when they were juſt ready to put to ſea, they ſet him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who choſe to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ſhip was wrecked, there were alive on board the *Wager* near an hundred and thirty perſons; of theſe above thirty died during their ſtay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the ſouthward; ſo that there remained with the Captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen perſons, which however were as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of *October*, five months after the ſhipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a ſchooner, weighed, and ſtood to the ſouthward, giving the Captain, who with Lieutenant *Hamilton* of the land-forces and the ſurgeon, were then on the beach, three cheers on their departure: and on the 29th of *January* following they arrived at *Rio Grande*, on the coaſt of *Brazil*; but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on ſhore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having periſhed by hunger during the courſe of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining, when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itſelf was a moſt extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the veſſel was ſcarcely able to contain the number that firſt put to ſea in her; and their ſtock of proviſion (being only what they had ſaved out of the ſhip) was extremely ſlender: they had this additional misfortune beſides, that the Cutter, the only boat they had with them, ſoon broke away from the ſtern, and was ſtaved to pieces; ſo that, when their proviſions and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on ſhore to ſearch for a freſh ſupply.

After

After the long-boat and cutter were gone, the Captain and thoſe who were left with him, propoſed to paſs to the northward in the bage and yawl; but the weather was ſo bad, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting ſo great, that it was two months from the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to ſea. It ſeems, the place where the *Wager* was caſt away was not a part of the Continent, as was firſt imagined, but an Iſland at ſome diſtance from the Main, which afforded no other ſort of provi[illegible] but ſhell-fiſh and a few herbs; and as the greateſt part of what they had gotten from the ſhip was carried off in the long boat, Captain and his people were often in extremity for food, eſpecially as they choſe to preſerve what little ſea-provisions remained, for their ſtore when they ſhould go to the northward. During their reſidence at this Iſland, which was by the ſea-men denominated *Wager's Iſland*, they had now and then a ſtraggling canoe or two of *Indians*, which came and bartered their fiſh, and other proviſions, with our people. This was ſome little relief to their neceſſities, and at another ſeaſon might perhaps have been greater; for, as there were ſeveral *Indian* huts on the ſhore, it was ſuppoſed that, in ſome years, during the height of ſummer, many of theſe ſavages might reſort thither to fiſh. Indeed, from what has been related in the account of the *Anna Pink*, it ſhould ſeem to be the general practice of thoſe *Indians* to frequent this coaſt in the ſummer time for the benefit of fiſhing, and to retire in the winter to a better climate, more to the northward.

On this mention of the *Anna Pink*, I cannot but obſerve, how much it is to be lamented, that the *Wager's* people had no knowledge of her being ſo near them on the coaſt; for, as ſhe was not above thirty leagues diſtant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the ſame time the *Wager* was loſt, and was a fine roomy ſhip, ſhe could eaſily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to *Juan Fernandes*. Indeed, I ſuſpect ſhe was ſtill nearer to them than what is here eſtimated; for ſeveral of the *Wager's* people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which, I conceive, could be no other than the evening gun fired from the *Anna Pink*, eſpecially as what was heard at *Wager's Iſland* was about the ſame time of the day. But to return to captain *Cheap*.

Upon

Upon the 14th of *December*, the Captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the proviſions they could ſave from the wreck of the ſhip; but they had ſcarcely been an hour at ſea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the ſea ran ſo high, that they were obliged to throw the greateſt part of their proviſions over-board, to avoid immediate deſtruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in that part of the world where food is ſo difficult to be got: however, they perſiſted in their deſign, putting on ſhore as often as they could, to ſeek ſubſiſtence. But about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befel them, for the yawl ſunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard neceſſity of leaving four marines behind them on that deſolate ſhore. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, they ſtill kept on their courſe to the northward; though greatly delayed by the perverſeneſs of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their ſearch after food occaſioned, and conſtantly ſtruggling with a ſeries of the moſt ſiniſter events; till at laſt, about the end of *January*, having made three unſucceſsful attempts to double a head-land, which they ſuppoſed to be what the *Spaniards* called Cape *Tres Montes*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, finding the difficulties inſurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to *Wager Iſland*, where they got back about the middle of *February*, quite diſheartened and dejected with their reiterated diſappointments, and almoſt periſhing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return, they had the good luck to meet with ſeveral pieces of beef, which had been waſhed out of the wreck, and were ſwimming in the ſea. This was a moſt ſeaſonable relief to them after the hardſhips they had endured: and, to compleat their good fortune, there came, in a ſhort time, two canoes of *Indians*, amongſt which was a native of *Chiloe*, who ſpoke a little *Spaniſh*; and the ſurgeon, who was with captain *Cheap*, underſtanding that language, he made a bargain with the *Indian*, that, if he would carry the Captain and his people to *Chiloe* in the barge, he ſhould have her and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of *March*, the eleven perſons to which the company was now reduced, embarked

embarked in the barge on this now expedition; but, after having proceeded for a few days, the Captain and four of his principal officers being on ſhore, the ſix, who together with an *Indian* remained in the barge, put off with her to ſea, and did not return again.

By this means there were left on ſhore Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Lieutenant of marines, the Honourable Mr. *Byron* and Mr. *Campbell*, Midſhipmen, and Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon. One would have thought that their diſtreſſes had long before this time been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflexion, that their preſent ſituation was much more diſmaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a deſolate coaſt, without any proviſion, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every conveniency they were maſters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had ſufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumſtances of this unexpected calamity, and were perſuaded that they had no relief to hope for; they perceived a canoe at a diſtance, which proved to be that of the *Indian*, who had undertaken to carry them to *Chiloe*, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them: for it ſeems he had left Captain *Cheap* and his people a little before to go a fiſhing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other *Indian*, whom the ſailors had carried to ſea in the barge. When he came on ſhore, and found the barge gone and his companion miſſing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be perſuaded that the other *Indian* was not murthered; yet being at laſt ſatisfied with the account that was given him, he ſtill undertook to carry them to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, and (as the *Indians* are well ſkilled in fiſhing and fowling) to procure them proviſions by the way.

About the middle of *March*, Captain *Cheap* and the four who were left with him ſet out for *Chiloe*, the *Indian* having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpoſe. Soon after they embarked, Mr. *Elliot* the ſurgeon died, ſo that there now remained only four of the whole company. At laſt, after a very complicated paſſage by land and water, Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Campbell*, arrived in the beginning of

June

June at the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where they were received by the *Spaniards* with great humanity; but, on account of ſome quarrel among the *Indians*, Mr. *Hamilton* did not get there till two months later. Thus was it above twelve months from the loſs of the *Wager*, before this fatiguing peregrination ended; and not till, by a variety of misfortunes, the company was diminiſhed from twenty to no more than four, and thoſe too brought ſo low, that, had their diſtreſſes continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have ſurvived: for the Captain himſelf was with difficulty recovered; and the reſt were ſo reduced, by the ſeverity of the weather, their labour, their want of food, and of all kinds of neceſſaries, that it was wonderful how they ſupported themſelves ſo long. After ſome ſtay at *Chiloe*, the Captain and the three who were with him were ſent to *Valparaiſo*, and thence to *St. Jago*, the capital of *Chili*, where they continued above a year; but, on the advice of a cartel being ſettled betwixt *Great Britain* and *Spain*, Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, were permitted to return to *Europe* on board a *French* ſhip. The other Midſhipman, Mr. *Campbel*, having changed his religion whilſt at *St. Jago*, choſe to go back to *Buenos Ayres* with *Pizarro* and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to *Spain*, on board the *Aſia*; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commiſſion from the Court of *Spain*, he returned to *England*, and attempted to get reinſtated in the *Britiſh* Navy. He has ſince publiſhed a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injuſtice that has been done him, and ſtrongly diſavows his ever being in the *Spaniſh* ſervice: but, as the change of his religion and his offering himſelf to the Court of *Spain* (though he was not accepted) are matters which, he is conſcious, are capable of being incontеſtably proved; on theſe two heads, he has been entirely ſilent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the *Anna Pink*, and the cataſtrophe of the *Wager*, I ſhall again reſume the thread of our own ſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Concluſion of our proceedings at Juan Fernandes, *from the arrival of the* Anna Pink, *to our final departure from thence.*

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the *Tryal* Sloop, that had been ſent to the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero*, returned to anchor at *Juan Fernandes*, having been round that Iſland, without meeting any part of our ſquadron. As, upon this occaſion, the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero* was more particularly examined than I dare ſay it had ever been before, or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge of it may, in certain circumſtances, be of great conſequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to inſert the accounts given of this place, by the officers of the *Tryal* Sloop.

The *Spaniards* have generally mentioned two Iſlands under the name of *Juan Fernandes*, ſtyling them the greater and the leſs; the greater being that Iſland where we anchored, and the leſs being the Iſland we are now deſcribing, which, becauſe it is more diſtant from the Continent, they have diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Maſa-Fuero*. The *Tryal* Sloop found that it bore from the greater *Juan Fernandes* W. by S. and was about twenty-two leagues diſtant. It is a much larger and better ſpot than has been generally reported; for former writers have repreſented it as a ſmall barren rock, deſtitute of wood and water, and altogether inacceſſible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were ſeveral fine falls of water pouring down its ſides into the ſea: they found too that there was a place where a ſhip might come to an anchor on the North ſide of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is ſteep too, and has very deep water upon it, ſo that you muſt come to an anchor very near the ſhore, and there lie expoſed to all the winds but a ſoutherly one: and, beſides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is alſo a reef of rocks running off the eaſtern point of the Iſland, about two miles in length; though there is little danger to be feared from them, becauſe they are always to be ſeen by the ſeas breaking over them. This place has at preſent one advantage beyond the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; for it abounds with goats, who, not being

accuſtomed

accuſtomed to be diſturbed, were no ways ſhy or apprehenſive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at. Theſe animals reſide here in great tranquillity, the *Spaniards* having not thought the Iſland conſiderable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and have not therefore been ſolicitous to deſtroy the proviſions upon it; ſo that no dogs have been hitherto ſet on ſhore there. Beſides the goats, our people found there vaſt numbers of ſeals and ſea-lions; and upon the whole they ſeemed to imagine, that though it was not the moſt eligible place for a ſhip to refreſh at, yet, in caſe of neceſſity, it might afford ſome ſort of ſhelter, and prove of conſiderable uſe, eſpecially to a ſingle ſhip, who might apprehend meeting with a ſuperior force at *Fernandes*. The appearance of its N. E. ſide, and alſo of its Weſt ſide, may be ſeen in the 21ſt and 22d plates. This may ſuffice in relation to the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero*.

The latter part of the month of *Auguſt* was ſpent in unlading the proviſions from the *Anna Pink*; when we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our proviſions, as bread, rice, groats, *&c.* were decayed, and unfit for uſe. This was owing to the water the *Pink* had made by her working and ſtraining in bad weather; for hereby ſeveral of her caſks had rotted, and her bags were ſoaked through. And now, as we had no farther occaſion for her ſervice, the Commodore, purſuant to his orders from the board of Admiralty, ſent notice to Mr. *Gerard*, her maſter, that he diſcharged the *Anna Pink* from attending the ſquadron; and gave him, at the ſame time, a certificate ſpecifying how long ſhe had been employed. In conſequence of this diſmiſſion, her maſter was at liberty, either to return directly to *England*, or to make the beſt of his way to any port, where he thought he could take in ſuch a cargoe as would anſwer the intereſt of his owners. But the maſter, being ſenſible of the bad condition of the ſhip, and of her unfitneſs for any ſuch voyage, wrote the next day an anſwer to the Commodore's meſſage, acquainting Mr. *Anſon*, that from the great quantity of water the *Pink* had made in her paſſage round Cape *Horn*, and ſince that, in the tempeſtuous weather ſhe had met with on the coaſt of *Chili*, he had reaſon to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed: he added, that her upper works were rotten abaft; that ſhe was extremely leaky; that her forebeam was broke; and that, in his opinion, it was impoſſible

to proceed to ſea with her before ſhe had been thoroughly refitted: and he therefore requeſted the Commodore, that the carpenters of the ſquadron might be directed to ſurvey her, that their judgement of her condition might be known. In compliance with this deſire, Mr. *Anſon* immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and ſtrict ſurvey of the *Anna Pink*, and to give him a faithful report, under their hands, of the condition in which they found her, directing them at the ſame time to proceed herein with ſuch circumſpection, that, if they ſhould be hereafter called upon, they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Purſuant to theſe orders, the carpenters immediate y ſet about the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the *Pink* had no leſs than fourteen knees and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breaſt-hook was broken, and another rotten; that her water-ways were open and decayed; that two ſtandards and ſeveral clamps were broken, beſides others which were rotten; that all her iron work was greatly decayed; that her ſpirkiting and timbers were very rotten; and that, having ripped off part of her ſheathing, they found her wales and outſide planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and, in conſequence of theſe defects and decays, they certified that, in their opinion, ſhe could not depart from the Iſland without great hazard, unleſs ſhe was firſt of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the *Anna Pink*, propoſed by the carpenters, was, in our preſent ſituation, impoſſible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the ſqudron was inſufficient for that purpoſe. And now, the maſter finding his own ſentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, he offered a petition to the Commodore, in behalf of his owners, deſiring that ſince it appeared he was incapable of leaving the Iſland, Mr. *Anſon* would pleaſe to purchaſe the hull and furniture of the *Pink*, for the uſe of the ſquadron. Hereupon the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the *Pink*, with its juſt value; and, as by this inventory it appeared that there were many ſtores which would be uſeful in refitting the other ſhips, and which were at preſent very ſcarce in the ſquadron, by reaſon of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr. *Gerard* to purchaſe the whole together for 300 l. The *Pink* being thus broken

broken up, Mr. *Gerard*, with the hands belonging to the *Pink*, were ſent on board the *Glouceſter*; as that ſhip had buried the greateſt number of men, in proportion to her complement. But afterwards, one or two of them were received on board the *Centurion*, on their own petition, they being extremely averſe to ſailing in the ſame ſhip with their old maſter, on account of ſome particular ill uſage they conceived they had ſuffered from him.

This tranſaction brought us down to the beginning of *September*, and our people by this time were ſo far recovered of the ſcurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at preſent; and therefore I ſhall now ſum up the total of our loſs ſince our departure from *England*, the better to convey ſome idea of our paſt ſufferings, and of our preſent ſtrength. We had buried on board the *Centurion*, ſince our leaving *St. Helen's*, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtleſs appear a moſt extraordinary mortality; but yet on board the *Glouceſter* it had been much greater, for out of a much ſmaller crew than ours they had loſt the ſame number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the *Tryal* the ſlaughter would have been the moſt terrible, as her decks were almoſt conſtantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwiſe, for ſhe eſcaped more favourably than the reſt, ſince ſhe only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havock of this diſeaſe had fallen ſtill ſeverer on the invalids and marines than on the ſailors; for on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and ſeventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the *Glouceſter* every invalid periſhed; and out of forty-eight marines, only two eſcaped. From this account it appears, that the three ſhips together departed from *England* with nine hundred and ſixty-one men on board, of whom ſix hundred and twenty-ſix were dead before this time; ſo that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be diſtributed amongſt three ſhips, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty five men and boys; a number greatly inſufficient for the manning the *Centurion* alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmoſt exertion of their ſtrength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our

men was ſtill the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of *Pizarro's* ſquadron, and had reaſon to ſuppoſe that ſome part of it at leaſt had got round into theſe ſeas: indeed, we were ſatisfied, from our own experience, that they muſt have ſuffered greatly in their paſſage; but then every port in the *South Seas* was open to them, and the whole power of *Chili* and *Peru* would doubtleſs be united in refreſhing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had loſt. Beſides, we had ſome obſcure knowledge of a force to be ſent out from *Callao*; and, however contemptible the ſhips and ſailors of this part of the world may have been generally eſteemed, it was ſcarcely poſſible for any thing bearing the name of a ſhip of force, to be feebler or leſs conſiderable than ourſelves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the *Spaniards* in this part of the world, yet our own enfeebled condition would nevertheleſs give us the greateſt uneaſineſs, as we were incapable of attempting any of their conſiderable places; for riſquing of twenty men, weak as we then were, was riſquing the ſafety of the whole; ſo that we conceived we ſhould be neceſſitated to content ourſelves with what few prizes we could pick up at ſea before we were diſcovered; after which, we ſhould in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and eſteem ourſelves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconſiderable miſchief they had received from a ſquadron whoſe equipment had filled them with ſuch dreadful apprehenſions. This was a ſubject, on which we had reaſon to imagine the *Spaniſh* oſtentation would remarkably exert itſelf; though the cauſes of our diſappointment and their ſecurity were neither to be ſought for in their valour nor our miſconduct.

Such were the deſponding reflexions which at that time aroſe on the review and compariſon of our remaining ſtrength with our original numbers: Indeed our fears were far from being groundleſs, or diſproportioned to our feeble and almoſt deſperate ſituation; for though the final event proved more honourable than we had forboded, yet the intermediate calamities did likewiſe greatly ſurpaſs our moſt gloomy apprehenſions, and could they have been predicted to us at this iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, they would doubtleſs have appeared inſurmountable. But to return to our narration.

In

In the beginning of *September*, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the ſeaſon of navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourſelves in getting our ſhips in readineſs for the ſea. We converted the fore-maſt of the *Victualer* into a main-māſt for the *Tryal* Sloop; and ſtill flattering ourſelves with the poſſibility of the arrival of ſome other ſhips of our ſquadron, we intended to leave the main maſt of the *Victualer*, to make a mizen-maſt for the *Wager*. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, eſpied a ſail to the N. E. which continued to approach us, till her courſes appeared even with the horizon. Whilſt ſhe advanced, we had great hopes ſhe might prove one of our own ſquadron; but as at length ſhe ſteered away to the eaſtward, without haling in for the Iſland, we thence concluded ſhe muſt be a *Spaniard*. And now great diſputes were ſet on foot, about the poſſibility of her having diſcovered our tents on ſhore, ſome of us ſtrongly inſiſting, that ſhe had doubtleſs been near enough to have perceived ſomething that had given her a jealouſy of an enemy, which had occaſioned her ſtanding to the eaſtward without haling in: however, leaving theſe conteſts to be ſettled afterwards, it was reſolved to purſue her; and the *Centurion* being in the greateſt forwardneſs, we immediately got all our hands on board, ſet up our rigging, bent our ſails, and by five in the afternoon got under ſail. We had at this time very little wind, ſo that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was, laſted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on, we loſt ſight of the chace, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that ſhe had been becalmed as well as we; though I muſt confeſs that her greater diſtance from the land was a reaſonable ground for ſuſpecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather contiuued perfectly clear, we had no ſight of the ſhip from the maſt-head. But as we were now ſatisfied that it was an enemy, and the firſt we had ſeen in theſe ſeas, we reſolved not to give over the ſearch lightly; and, a ſmall breeze ſpringing up from the W. N. W. we got up our top-gallant maſts and yards, ſet all the ſails, and ſteered to the S. E. in hopes of retrieving our chace, which we imagined

gined to be bound to *Valparaiſo*. We continued on this courſe all that day and the next, and then, not getting ſight of our chace, we gave over the purſuit, conceiving that by that time ſhe muſt, in all probability, have reached her port. Being therefore determined to return to *Juan Fernandes*, we haled up to the S. W. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there ſprung up a freſh gale from the W. S. W. which obliged us to tack, and ſtand to the N. W. At day-break we were agreeably ſurprized with the ſight of a ſail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues diſtant. We immediately crouded all the ſail we could, and ſtood after her, and ſoon perceived it not to be the ſame ſhip we originally gave chace to. She at firſt bore down upon us, ſhewing *Spaniſh* colours, and making a ſignal as to her conſort; but obſerving that we did not anſwer her ſignal, ſhe inſtantly looſed cloſe to the wind, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Our people were now all in ſpirits, to put the ſhip about with great briſkneſs; and as the chace appeared to be a large ſhip, and had miſtaken us for her conſort, we conceived that ſhe was a man of war, and probably one of *Pizarro's* ſquadron: This induced the Commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown over-board, with ſeveral caſks of water and proviſions which ſtood between the guns: ſo that we had ſoon a clear ſhip, ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock we had thick hazy weather and a ſhower of rain, during which we loſt ſight of the chace; and we were apprehenſive, if this dark weather ſhould continue, that, by going upon the other tack, or by ſome other artifice, ſhe might eſcape us; but it clearing up in leſs than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her conſiderably, and were then near enough to diſcover that ſhe was only a merchantman, without ſo much as a ſingle tier of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being got within a reaſonable diſtance of her, we fired four ſhot amongſt her rigging; on which they lowered their top-ſails, and bore down to us, but in very great confuſion, their top-gallant ſails and ſtay-ſails all fluttering in the winds: this was owing to their having let run their ſheets and halyards juſt as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongſt them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the ſhot had paſſed but juſt before) to take them in. As ſoon as the veſſel came within hale of us,

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the Commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoiſted out the boat, and ſent Mr. *Saumarez* his firſt Lieutenant, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, with directions to ſend all the priſoners on board the *Centurion*, but firſt the officers and paſſengers. When Mr. *Saumarez* came on board them, they received him at the ſide with the ſtrongeſt tokens of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; for they were all of them (eſpecially the paſſengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greateſt apprehenſions of meeting with very ſevere and cruel uſage; but the Lieutenant endeavoured with great courteſy to diſſipate their fright, aſſuring them that their fears were altogether groundleſs, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not leſs remarkable for his lenity and humanity than for his reſolution and courage. The priſoners, who were firſt ſent on board the *Centurion*, informed us, that our prize was called *Nueſtra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, and was commanded by Don *Manuel Zamorra*. Her cargo conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of *Quito*, ſomewhat reſembling our *Engliſh* coarſe broad-cloths, but inferior to them. They had beſides ſeveral bales of a coarſer ſort of cloth, of different colours, ſomewhat like *Colcheſter* bays, called by them *Pannia da Tierra*, with a few bales of cotton, and ſome tobacco, which, though ſtrong, was not ill flavoured. Theſe were the principal goods on board her; but we found beſides, what was to us much more valuable than the reſt of the cargo; this was ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 *lb.* averdupois. This ſhip's burthen was about four hundred and fifty tons; ſhe had fifty-three ſailors on board, both whites and blacks; ſhe came from *Callao*, and had been twenty-ſeven days at ſea before ſhe fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of *Valparaiſo* in the kingdom of *Chili*, and propoſed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and *Chili* wine, ſome gold, dried beef, and ſmall cordage, which at *Callao* they convert into large rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet, as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they eſteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewiſe her ſails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unſerviceable, their

carriages being ſcarcely able to ſupport them; and there were no ſmall arms on board, except a few piſtols belonging to the paſſengers. The priſoners informed us, that they left *Callao* in company with two other ſhips, which they had parted with ſome days before, and that at firſt they conceived us to be one of their company; and, by the deſcription we gave them of the ſhip we had chaced from *Juan Fernandes*, they aſſured us ſhe was of their number, but that the coming in ſight of that Iſland was directly repugnant to the merchant's inſtructions, who had expreſsly forbid it, as knowing that, if any *Engliſh* ſquadron was in thoſe ſeas, the Iſland of *Fernandes* was moſt probably the place of their rendezvous.

After this ſhort account of the ſhip and her cargoe, it is neceſſary that I ſhould relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the priſoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here firſt learnt with certainty the force and deſtination of that ſquadron, which cruiſed off the *Maderas* at our arrival there, and afterwards chaced the *Pearl* in our paſſage to port *St. Julian*. This we now knew was a ſquadron compoſed of five large *Spaniſh* ſhips, commanded by Admiral *Pizarro*, and purpoſely fitted out to traverſe our deſigns, as hath been already more amply related in the third chapter of the firſt book. We had, at the ſame time too, the ſatisfaction to find, that *Pizarro*, after his utmoſt endeavours to gain his paſſage into theſe ſeas, had been forced back again into the river of *Plate*, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips; and, beſides this diſappointment of *Pizarro*, which, conſidering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learnt, that though an embargo had been laid upon all ſhipping in theſe ſeas by the Vice-roy of *Peru*, in the month of *May* preceding, on a ſuppoſition that about that time we might arrive upon the coaſt, yet it now no longer ſubſiſted; for on the account ſent over land by *Pizarro* of his own diſtreſſes, part of which they knew we muſt have encountered as we were at ſea during the ſame time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to ſet ſail from *St. Catharine's*, they were full ſatisfied that we were either ſhipwrecked, or had periſhed at ſea, or at leaſt had been obliged to put back again; as it was conceived impoſſible for any ſhips to contiue at ſea during ſo long an interval;

and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm perſuaſion of our having miſcarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This laſt article made us flatter ourſelves, that, as the enemy was ſtill a ſtranger to our having got round Cape *Horn*, and the navigation of theſe ſeas was reſtored, we might meet with ſome valuable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourſelves for the incapacity we were under of attempting any of their conſiderable ſettlements on ſhore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our priſoners, that, whatever our ſucceſs might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the *Spaniſh* force in this part of the world; though we diſcovered that we had been in moſt imminent peril from the enemy when we leaſt apprehended it, and when our other diſtreſſes were at the greateſt height; for we learned, from the letters on board, that *Pizarro*, in the expreſs he diſpatched to the Viceroy of *Peru* after his return to the river of *Plate*, had intimated to him, that it was poſſible ſome part at leaſt of the *Engliſh* ſquadron might get round; but that, as he was certain, from his own experience, that if they did arrive in thoſe ſeas it muſt be in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, he adviſed the Viceroy, in order to be ſecure at all events, to ſend what ſhips of war he had, to the ſouthward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us ſingly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreſhment; in which caſe, he doubted not but we ſhould prove an eaſy conqueſt. The Viceroy of *Peru* approved of this advice; and as he had already fitted out four ſhips of force from *Callao*, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join *Pizarro* when he arrived on the coaſt of *Chili*, the Viceroy now ſtationed three of theſe off the port of *Conception*, and one of them at the Iſland of *Fernandes*, where they continued cruiſing for us till the 6th of *June*; and then not ſeeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impoſſible that we could have kept the ſeas ſo long, they quitted their cruiſe, and returned to *Callao*, fully perſuaded that we had either periſhed, or at leaſt had been driven back. Now, as the time of their quitting their ſtations was but a few days before our arrival at the Iſland of *Fernandes*, it is evident, that had we made that Iſland on

our firſt ſearch for it, without hailing in for the main to ſecure our eaſting (a circumſtance, which at that time we conſidered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we loſt by our longer continuance at ſea); however, I ſay made the Iſland on the 28th of *May*, when we firſt expected to ſee it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtleſs fallen in with ſome part of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron; and in the diſtreſſed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well-provided enemy, was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the *Tryal*, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Anna Pink*, who ſeparately joined us, and who were each of them leſs capable than we were of making any conſiderable reſiſtance. I ſhall only add, that the *Spaniſh* ſhips ſent out to intercept us had been greatly ſhattered by a ſtorm during their cruiſe; and that, after their arrival at *Callao*, they had been laid up. And our priſoners aſſured us, that whenever intelligence was received at *Lima*, of our being in theſe ſeas, it would be at leaſt two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we in our reduced circumſtances could wiſh for. And now we were no longer at a loſs as to the broken jars, aſhes, and fiſh-bones, which we had obſerved at our firſt landing at *Juan Fernandes*, theſe things being doubtleſs the relicks of the cruiſers ſtationed off that port. Having thus ſatisfied ourſelves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the *Centurion* moſt of the priſoners, and all the ſilver, we at eight in the ſame evening made ſail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at ſix the next morning diſcovered the Iſland of *Fernandes*, where the following day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident, which occured when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the reſt of the ſquadron lay. The *Spaniards* in the *Carmelo* had been ſufficiently informed of the diſtreſſes we had gone through, and were greatly ſurprized that we had ever ſurmounted them; but when they ſaw the *Tryal* Sloop at anchor, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, that, after all our fatigues, we had the induſtry (beſides refitting our other ſhips) to complete ſuch a veſſel in ſo ſhort a time, they taking it for granted that we had built her upon the ſpot:

ſpot: nor was it without great difficulty they were at laſt prevailed on to believe, that ſhe came from *England* with the reſt of the ſquadron; they long inſiſting, that it was impoſſible ſuch a bawble as that could paſs round Cape *Horn*, when the beſt ſhips of *Spain* were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at *Juan Fernandes*, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: and it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our priſoners, that ſeveral other merchantmen were bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiſo*, Mr. *Anſon* diſpatched the *Tryal* Sloop the very next morning, to cruiſe off the laſt mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ſhip. Mr. *Anſon* likewiſe reſolved, on the intelligence recited above, to ſeparate the ſhips under his command, and employ them in diſtinct cruiſes; as he thought that by this means we ſhould not only increaſe our chance for prizes, but that we ſhould likewiſe run a leſs riſque of alarming the coaſt, and of being diſcovered. And now the ſpirits of our people being greatly raiſed, and their deſpondency diſſipated, by this earneſt of ſucceſs, they forgot all their paſt diſtreſſes, and reſumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in compleating our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewel of the Iſland; but as theſe occupations took us up four or five days with all our induſtry, the Commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the *Anna Pink*, being four ſix-pounders, four four pounders, and two ſwivels, ſhould be mounted on board the *Carmelo*, our prize; and having ſent on board the *Glouceſter* ſix paſſengers and twenty-three ſeamen to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip, he directed Captain *Mitchel* to leave the Iſland as ſoon as poſſible, the ſervice demanding the utmoſt diſpatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees South, and there to cruiſe off the high-land of *Paita*, at ſuch a diſtance from ſhore as ſhould prevent his being diſcovered. On this ſtation he was to continue till he ſhould be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it ſhould be known that the Viceroy had fitted out the ſhips at *Callao*, or on Mr. *Anſon's* receiving any other intelligence that ſhould make it neceſſary to unite our ſtrength. Theſe orders being delivered to the Captain of the *Glouceſter*, and all our buſineſs compleated, we, on the *Saturday* following, being the

19th of *September*, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our laſt leave of the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, and ſteering to the eaſtward, with an intention of joining the *Tryal* Sloop in her ſtation off *Valparaiſo*.

CHAP. V.

Our Cruiſe from the time of our leaving Juan Fernandes, *to the taking the town of* Paita.

ALTHOUGH the *Centurion*, with her prize the *Carmelo*, weighed from the bay of *Juan Fernandes* on the 19th of *September*, leaving the *Glouceſter* at anchor behind her; yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the ſame month, in the evening, before we loſt ſight of the Iſland; after which, we continued our courſe to the eaſtward, in order to reach our ſtation, and to join the *Tryal* off *Valparaiſo*. The next night, the weather proved ſqually, and ſplit our maintopſail, which we handed for the preſent, but got repaired, and ſet it again the next morning. In the evening, a little before ſun-ſet, we ſaw two ſail to the eaſtward: on which, our prize ſtood directly from us, to avoid giving any ſuſpicion of our being cruiſers; whilſt we, in the mean time made ourſelves ready for an engagement, and ſteered with all our canvas towards the two ſhips we had diſcovered. We ſoon perceived that one of theſe, which had the appearance of being a very ſtout ſhip, made directly for us, whilſt the other kept at at a great diſtance. By ſeven o'clock we were within piſtol-ſhot of the neareſt, and had a broad-ſide ready to pour in her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impoſſible for her to eſcape us, Mr. *Anſon*, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the maſter to hale the ſhip in *Spaniſh*; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. *Hughs*, Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, anſwered us in *Engliſh*, and informed us, that ſhe was a prize taken by the *Tryal* a few days before, and that the other ſail at a diſtance was the *Tryal* herſelf, diſabled in her maſts. We were ſoon after joined by the *Tryal*; and Captain *Saun-*

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ders, her commander, came on board the *Centurion*. He acquainted the Commodore, that he had taken this ſhip the 18th inſtant; that ſhe was a prime ſailor, and had coſt him thirty-ſix hours chace, before he could come up with her; that for ſome time he gained ſo little upon her, that he began to deſpair of taking her; and the *Spaniards*, though alarmed at firſt with ſeeing nothing but a cloud of ſail in purſuit of them, the *Tryal*'s hull being ſo low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodneſs of their ſhip, and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aſide their fears, and recommending themſelves to the Bleſſed Virgin for protection, began to think themſelves ſecure. Indeed their ſucceſs was very near doing honour to their *Ave Marias*; for, altering their courſe in the night, and ſhutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being ſeen, they had ſome chance of eſcaping; but a ſmall crevice in one of the ſhutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chaſed till they arrived within gun-ſhot, and then Captain *Saunders* alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadſide, when they flattered themſelves they were got out of his reach: however, for ſome time after, they ſtill kept the ſame ſail aboard, and it was not obſerved that this firſt ſalute had made any impreſſion on them: but, juſt as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broadſide, the *Spaniards* crept from their holes, lowered their ſails, and ſubmitted without any oppoſition. She was one of the largeſt merchantmen employed in thoſe ſeas, being about ſix hundred tons burthen, and was called the *Arranzazu*. She was bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiſo*, and had much the ſame cargo with the *Carmelo* we had taken before, except that her ſilver amounted only to about 5000 *l.* ſterling.

But, to balance this ſucceſs, we had the misfortune to find that the *Tryal* had ſprung her main-maſt, and that her main-top-maſt had come by the board; and as we were all of us ſtanding to the eaſtward the next morning, with a freſh gale at South, ſhe had the additional ill-luck to ſpring her fore-maſt: ſo that now ſhe had not a maſt left, on which ſhe could carry ſail. Theſe unhappy incidents were ſtill aggravated by the impoſſibility we were juſt then under of aſſiſting her; for the wind blew ſo hard, and raiſed ſuch a hollow ſea, that we could not venture to hoiſt out our boat,

boat, and conſequently could have no communication with her; ſo that we were obliged to lie-to for the greateſt part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could by no means thought of leaving her to herſelf in her preſent unhappy ſituation: it was no ſmall accumulation to theſe misfortunes, that we were all the while driving to the leeward of our ſtation, at the very time too, when, by our intelligence, we had reaſon to expect ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips would appear upon the coaſt, who would now gain the port of *Valparaiſo* without obſtruction. And I am verily perſuaded, that the embarraſſment we received from the diſmaſting of the *Tryal*, and our abſence from our intended ſtation, occaſioned thereby, deprived us of ſome very conſiderable captures.

The weather proving ſomewhat more moderate on the 27th, we ſent our boat for the Captain of the *Tryal*, who, when he came on board us, produced an inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and all his officers, repreſenting that the Sloop, beſides being diſmaſted, was ſo very leaky in her hull, that, even in moderate weather, it was neceſſary to ply the pumps conſtantly, and that they were then ſcarcely ſufficient to keep her free; ſo that, in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increaſed upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at preſent ſo very defective, that, if they met with much bad weather, they muſt all inevitably periſh; and therefore they petitioned the Commodore to take ſome meaſures for their future ſafety. But the refitting of the *Tryal*, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that, in the preſent conjuncture, greatly exceeded our power; for we had no maſts to ſpare her, we had no ſtores to complete her rigging, nor had we any port where ſhe might be hove down, and her bottom examined: beſides, had a port and proper requiſites for this purpoſe been in our poſſeſſion, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in ſo critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away ſo much time as would have been neceſſary for theſe operations. The Commodore therefore had no choice left him, but was under a neceſſity of taking out our people, and deſtroying her: however, as he conceived it expedient to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the *Tryal's* prize (which had been often employed by the Viceroy of *Peru* as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Majeſty's ſervice,

ſervice, manning her with the *Tryal*'s crew, and giving commiſſions to the Captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, had mounted thirty-two guns: but ſhe was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the *Tryal*, and eight that had belonged to the *Anna Pink*. When this affair was thus reſolved on, Mr. *Anſon* gave orders to Captain *Saunders* to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the ſloop the arms, ſtores, ammunition, and every thing that could be of any uſe to the other ſhips, and then to ſcuttle her and ſink her. After Captain *Saunders* had ſeen her deſtroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the *Tryal's* prize), and to cruize off the high-land of *Valparaiſo*, keeping it from him N. N. W. at the diſtance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ſhips bound from *Valparaiſo* to the northward ſteer that courſe, Mr. *Anſon* propoſed by this means to ſtop any intelligence that might be diſpatched to *Callao*, of two of their ſhips being miſſing, which might give them apprehenſions of the *Engliſh* ſquadron being in their neighbourhood. The *Tryal's* prize was to continue on this ſtation twenty-four days, and if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, ſhe was then to proceed down the coaſt to *Piſco*, or *Naſca*, where ſhe would be certain to meet with Mr. *Anſon*. The Commodore likewiſe ordered Lieutenant *Saumarez*, who commanded the *Centurion's* prize, to keep company with Captain *Saunders*, both to aſſiſt him in unloading the ſloop, and alſo that, by ſpreading in their cruize, there might be leſs danger of any of the enemy's ſhips ſlipping by unobſerved. Theſe orders being diſpatched, the *Centurion* parted from the other veſſels at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of *September*, directing her courſe to the ſouthward, with a view of cruiſing for ſome days to the windward of *Valparaiſo*.

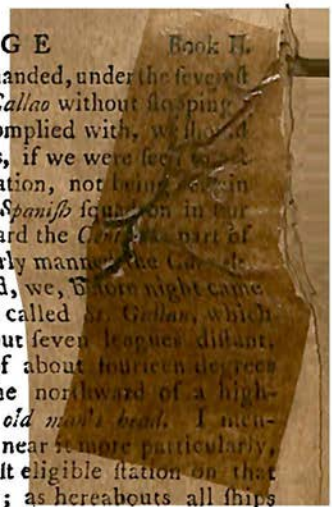
And now, by this diſtribution of our ſhips, we flattered ourſelves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we poſſibly could with our ſmall force, ſince our diſpoſition was doubtleſs the moſt prudent that could be projected. For, as we might ſuppoſe the *Glouceſter* by this time to be drawing near the high-land of *Paita*, we were enabled, by our ſeparate ſtations, to intercept all veſſels employed either betwixt *Peru* and *Chili* to the ſouthward, or betwixt *Panama* and *Peru* to the northward: ſince the principal trade

trade from *Peru* to *Chili* being carried on to the port of *Valparaiso*, the *Centurion*, cruising to the windward of *Valparaiso*, would in all probability meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the coast to the windward of that port: the *Gloucester* would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from *Panama*, or to the northward, to any part of *Peru*, since the high-land off which she was stationed is constantly made by every ship in that voyage. And whilst the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the *Tryal's* prize and *Centurion's* prize were as conveniently posted for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound from *Valparaiso* to the northward; for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to *Peru*.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never ensure its certainty: since those chances, which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberation, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus, in the present case, the distress of the *Tryal*, and our quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate), gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to *Valparaiso*, to reach that port without molestation, during this unlucky interval; so that though, after leaving Captain *Saunders*, we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon, yet, in plying on and off till the 6th of *October*, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort: and then, having lost all hopes of meeting with better fortune by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived off the high-land where they were directed to cruize, we did not find them, though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chace had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the high-land of *Nasca*, which was the second rendezvous where Captain *Saunders* was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21st, and were in great expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels, as both the accounts of former voyages and the information of our prisoners assured us, that all ships bound to *Callao* constantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the

leeward

leeward of the port. But, notwithſtanding the advantages of this ſtation, we ſaw no ſail till the 2d of *November*, when two ſhips appeared in ſight together; we immediately gave them chace, and ſoon perceived that they were the *Tryal* and *Centurion's* prizes; as they had the wind of us, we brought to, and waited their coming up; when Captain *Saunders* came on board us, and acquainted the Commodore, that he had cleared the *Tryal* purſuant to his orders, and having ſcuttled her, he remained by her till ſhe ſunk, but that it was the 4th of *October* before this was effected; for there ran ſo large and hollow a ſea, that the ſloop, having neither maſts nor ſails to ſteddy her, rolled and pitched ſo violently, that it was impoſſible for a boat to lay along-ſide of her, for the greateſt part of the time: and, during this attendance on the ſloop, they were all driven ſo far to the North-weſt, that they were afterwards obliged to ſtretch a long way to the weſtward, to regain the ground they had loſt; which was the reaſon that we had not met with them on their ſtation, as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruize than we were, for they had ſeen no veſſel ſince they ſeparated from us. The little ſucceſs we all had, and our certainty that, had any ſhips been ſtirring in theſe ſeas for ſome time paſt, we muſt have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy at *Valparaiſo*, on the miſſing of the two ſhips we had taken, had ſuſpected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had conſequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the ſouthern parts. We likewiſe apprehended, that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at *Callao*: as we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an expreſs from *Valparaiſo* to reach *Lima* in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty ſince we had taken our firſt prize. Theſe apprehenſions of an embargo along the coaſt, and of the equipment of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron at *Callao*, determined the Commodore to haſten down to the leeward of *Callao*, and to join Captain *Mitchel* (who was ſtationed off *Paita*) as ſoon as poſſible, that, our ſtrength being united, we might be prepared to give the ſhips from *Callao* a warm reception, if they dared to put to ſea. With this view we bore away the ſame afternoon, taking particular care to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that there might be no danger of our being diſcovered from thence; for we knew that



that all the country ſhips were commanded, under the ſevereſt penalty, not to ſail by the port of *Callao* without ſtopping; and as this order was conſtantly complied with, we ſhould undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were ſeen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the *Spaniſh* ſquadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Gloucester. And now ſtanding to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the ſmall Iſland called St. Gallan, which bore from us N. N. E. ½ E, about ſeven leagues diſtant. This Iſland lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees ſouth, and about five miles to the northward of a high-land, called *Morro Veigo*, or the *old man's head*. I mention this Iſland and the high-land near it more particularly, becauſe between them is the moſt eligible ſtation on that coaſt for cruiſing upon the enemy; as hereabouts all ſhips bound to *Callao*, whether from the northward or the ſouthward, run well in with the land. By the 5th of *November*, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the high-land of *Barranca*, lying in the latitude of 10°: 36′ South, bearing from us N. E. by E. diſtant eight or nine leagues: and an hour and a half afterwards we had the ſatisfaction ſo long wiſhed for, of ſeeing a ſail. She firſt appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chace; but the *Centurion* ſo much outſailed the two prizes, that we ſoon ran them out of ſight, and gained conſiderably on the chace: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about ſeven o'clock, loſt ſight of her, and were in ſome perplexity what courſe to ſteer; but at laſt Mr. *Anſon* reſolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his ſails ſet, and not to change his courſe: for though we had no doubt but the chace would alter her courſe in the night; yet, as it was uncertain what tack ſhe would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our courſe, as we muſt by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than to change it on conjecture; when, if we ſhould miſtake, we muſt infallibly loſe her. Thus then we continued the chace about an hour and a half in the dark; ſome one or other on board us conſtantly imagining they diſcerned her ſails right a-head of us; but at length Mr. *Brett*, our ſecond Lieutenant, did really diſcover her about four points on the larboard-bow, ſteering off to the ſea-

ward:

ward: we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her; and, in less than an hour came up with her, and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Our third Lieutenant, Mr. *Dennis*, was sent in the boat, with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This vessel was named the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, built at *Guaiaquil*, of about three hundred tons burthen, and was commanded by *Bartolome Urrunaga*, a *Biscayer*: she was bound from *Guaiaquil* to *Callao*; her loading consisted of timber, cocoa, coco-nuts, tobacco, hides, *Pito* thread (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass), *Quito* cloth, wax, *&c.* The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than 170*l.* sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it: but, the *Spaniards* having strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods that we took in those seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us to consider, that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and that the despoiling of them was no contemptible branch of that service in which we were now employed by our country.

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of *Spanish* parents, together with three black slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions too were, in the present instance, exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors, who had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves upon our officers coming on board; and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light: however, he soon satisfied

ſatisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his aſſurances of their future ſecurity and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. Nor were these aſſurances of the officer invalidated in the ſequel; for the Commodore, being informed of the matter, ſent directions that they ſhould be continued on board their own ſhip, with the uſe of the ſame apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving ſtrict orders that they ſhould receive no kind of inquietude or moleſtation whatever. And that they might be the more certain of having theſe orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the pilot, who in *Spaniſh* ſhips is generally the ſecond perſon on board, to ſtay with them, as their guardian or protector. The pilot was particularly choſen for this purpoſe by Mr. *Anſon*, as he ſeemed to be extremely intereſted in all that concerned the women, and had at firſt declared that he was married to the youngeſt of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the reſt of the priſoners and other circumſtances, that he aſſerted this with a view the better to ſecure them from the inſults they expected on their firſt falling into our hands. By this compaſſionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the conſternation of our female priſoners entirely ſubſided, and they continued eaſy and chearful during the whole time they were with us, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before obſerved, that at the beginning of this chace the *Centurion* ran her two conſorts out of ſight, on which account we lay by all the night, after we had taken the prize, for Captain *Saunders* and Lieutenant *Saumarez* to join us, firing guns and making falſe fires every half hour, to prevent their paſſing by us unobſerved; but they were ſo far a-ſtern, that they neither heard nor ſaw any of our ſignals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day-light. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four ſail in company. We here found the ſea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immenſe quantity of ſpawn ſpread upon its ſurface; for, taking up ſome of the water in a wine-glaſs, it ſoon changed from a dirty aſpect to a clear cryſtal, with only ſome red globules of a ſlimy nature floating on the top. At preſent, having

having a ſupply of timber on board our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a ſwivel gun-ſtock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to encreaſe their force, in caſe we ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to them for boarding ſhips, or for any attempts on ſhore.

As we ſtood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days; though we ſpread our ſhips in ſuch a manner, that it was not probable any veſſel of the enemy could eſcape us. In our run along this coaſt we generally obſerved, that there was a current which ſet us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now, being in about eight degrees of South latitude, we began to be attended with vaſt numbers of flying fiſh and bonitos, which were the firſt we ſaw after our departure from the coaſt of *Brazil*. But it is remarkable, that on the Eaſt ſide of *South America* they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the Weſt ſide; for we did not loſe them on the coaſt of *Brazil*, till we approached the ſouthern tropic. The reaſon for this diverſity is doubtleſs the different degrees of heat obtaining in the ſame latitude on different ſides of that Continent. And on this occaſion, I muſt beg leave to make a ſhort digreſſion on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the ſame place in different parts of the year, and in different places in the ſame degree of latitude.

The ancients conceived, that of the five zones, into which they divided the ſurface of the globe, two were only habitable, ſuppoſing that the heat between the tropics, and the cold within the polar circles, were too intenſe to be ſupported by mankind. The falſhood of this reaſoning has been long evinced; but the particular compariſons of the heat and cold of theſe various climates has as yet been very imperfectly conſidered. However, enough is known ſafely to determine this poſition, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hotteſt on the globe, as many of thoſe within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold, to which their ſituation ſhould ſeem to ſubject them: that is to ſay, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumſtances, than upon its diſtance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This

This propoſition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this ſenſe it cannot be denied, that the city of *London*, for inſtance, enjoys much warmer ſeaſons than the bottom of *Hudſon's Bay*, which is nearly in the ſame latitude with it, but where the ſeverity of the winter is ſo great, that it will ſcarcely permit the hardieſt of our garden plants to live: and if the compariſon be made between the coaſt of *Brazil* and the weſtern ſhore of *South America*, as, for example, betwixt *Bahia* and *Lima*, the difference will be ſtill more conſiderable; for though the coaſt of *Brazil* is extremely ſultry, yet the coaſt of the *South Seas* in the ſame latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; ſince, in ranging along it, we did not once meet with ſo warm weather as is frequent in a ſummer's day in *England*, which was ſtill the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refreſh and cool the air.

The cauſes of this temperature in the *South-Seas* are not difficult to be aſſigned, and ſhall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only ſolicitous to eſtabliſh the truth of this aſſertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this poſition might be more briefly confirmed, by obſerving, that on the tops of the *Andes*, though under the equinoctial, the ſnow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold, ſtronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto conſidered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the groſs eſtimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own ſenſation. If this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which, in reſpect to the abſolute degree of heat and cold, are doubtleſs the moſt unerring evidences; if this be done, the reſult will be indeed moſt wonderful: ſince it will hence appear, that the heat in very high latitudes, as at *Peterſburgh* for inſtance, is, at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto obſerved between the tropics; and that even at *London*, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day conſiderably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ſhip of Mr. *Anſon's* ſquadron, in running from hence to Cape *Horn* and back again, and paſſing twice under the ſun; for in the ſummer of that year, the thermometer in *London* (being one

of thoſe graduated according to the method of *Fahrenheit*) ſtood once at 78°; and the greateſt height at which a thermometer of the ſame kind ſtood in the foregoing ſhip, I found to be 76°; this was at *St. Catharine's*, in the latter end of *December*, when the ſun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to *Peterſburgh*, I find, by the acts of the academy eſtabliſhed there, that in the year 1734, on the 20th and the 25th of *July*, the thermometer roſe to 98° in the ſhade, that is, it was twenty-two diviſions higher than it was found to be at *St. Catharine's*; which is a degree of heat that, were it not authorized by the regularity and circumſpection with which the obſervations ſeem to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it ſhould be aſked, how it comes to paſs then, that the heat in many places between the tropics is eſteemed ſo violent and inſufferable, when it appears, by theſe inſtances, that it is ſometimes rivaled or exceeded in very high latitudes not far from the polar circle; I ſhould anſwer, that the eſtimation of heat in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium obſerved in a whole ſeaſon, or perhaps in a whole year; and in this light it will eaſily appear, how much more intenſe the ſame degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For inſtance, in comparing together *St. Catharine's* and *Peterſburgh*, we will ſuppoſe the ſummer heat at *St. Catharine's* to be 76°, and the winter heat to be twenty diviſions ſhort of it: I do not make uſe of this laſt conjecture upon ſufficient obſervation; but I am apt to ſuſpect that the allowance is full large. Upon this ſuppoſition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°, and this perhaps by night as well as day, with no great variation: now thoſe who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would, by the generality of mankind, be ſtiled violent and ſuffocating. But at *Peterſburgh*, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be conſiderably greater than at *St. Catharine's*, yet, as at other times the cold is immenſely ſharper, the medium for a year, or even for one ſeaſon only, would be far ſhort of 66°: for I find, that the thermometer at *Peterſburgh* is at leaſt five times greater, from its higheſt to its loweſt point,

point, than what I have ſuppoſed to take place in St. *Catharine's*.

Beſides this eſtimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a conſiderable time together, there is another circumſtance, which will ſtill augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminiſh that of the colder, though I do not remember to have ſeen it remarked by any author. To explain myſelf more diſtinctly upon this head, I muſt obſerve, that the meaſure of abſolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the ſenſation of heat with which human bodies are affected: for as the preſence and perpetual ſucceſſion of freſh air is neceſſary to our reſpiration, ſo there is a ſpecies of tainted or ſtagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which, being leſs proper for reſpiration, never fails to excite in us an idea of ſultrineſs and ſuffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone, ſuppoſing it pure and agitated, would occaſion. Hence it follows, that the mere inſpection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cauſe; and hence it follows too, that the heat in moſt places between the tropics muſt be much more troubleſome and uneaſy than the ſame degree of abſolute heat in a high latitude; for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of ſteams and vapours from the ſoil and water, and theſe being many of them of an impure and noxious kind, and being not eaſily removed, by reaſon of the regularity of the winds in thoſe parts, which only ſhift the exhalations from place to place without diſperſing them, the atmoſphere is by this means rendered leſs capable of ſupporting the animal functions, and mankind are conſequently affected with what they ſtile a moſt intenſe and ſtifling heat: whereas in the higher latitudes theſe vapours are probably raiſed in ſmaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently diſperſe them; ſo that, the air being in general pure and leſs ſtagnant, the ſame degree of abſolute heat is not attended with that uneaſy and ſuffocating ſenſation. This may ſuffice in general with reſpect to the preſent ſpeculation; but I cannot help wiſhing, as it is a ſubject in which mankind, eſpecially travellers of all ſorts, are very much intereſted, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and

that

that all ships bound to the warmer climates would furnish themselves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would observe them daily, and register their observations; for, considering the turn to philosophical inquiries which has obtained in *Europe* for the last four-score years, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind hath been attended to. As to my own part, I do not recollect that I have ever seen any observations of the heat and cold, either in the *East* or *West Indies*, which were made by mariners or officers of vessels, except those made by Mr. *Anson's* order on board the *Centurion*, and by Captain *Legg* on board the *Severn*, which was another ship of our squadron.

This digression I have been in some measure drawn into, by the consideration of the fine weather we met with on the coast of *Peru*, even under the equinoctial itself; but the particularities of this weather I have not yet described: I shall now therefore add, that in this climate every circumstance concurred, that could make the open air and day light desirable; for in other countries the scorching heat of the sun in summer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement; and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the sun rarely appears; not that the heavens have at any time a dark and gloomy look; for there is constantly a chearful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleasant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad, nor is there wanting that refreshment and pleasing refrigeration of the air, which is sometimes produced in other climates by rains; for here the same effect is brought about by the fresh breezes from the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast hills, called the *Andes*, which running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small distance from it, and, extending themselves immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the summit, all kinds of climates may, at all seasons of the year, be found. These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds which generally

blow over the continent of *South America*, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over them, and by keeping beſides a large portion of the atmoſphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the ſnow with which they are covered; theſe hills, thus ſpreading the influence of their frozen creſts to the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas of *Peru*, are doubtleſs the cauſe of the temperature and equability which conſtantly prevail there; for when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where theſe mountains left us, and had nothing to ſcreen us to the eaſtward but the high lands on the Iſthmus of *Panama*, which are but mole-hills to the *Andes*, we then ſoon found that in a ſhort run we had totally changed our climate, paſſing in two or three days from the temperate air of *Peru*, to the ſultry burning atmoſphere of the *Weſt Indies*. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of *November* we were three leagues South of the ſouthermoſt Iſland of *Lobos*, lying in the latitude of 6° : 27′ South: there are two Iſlands of this name; this called *Lobos de la Mar*; and another, which is ſituated to the northward of it, very much reſembling it in ſhape and appearance; and often miſtaken for it, called *Lobos de Tierre*. We were now drawing near to the ſtation appointed to the *Gloucester*; for which reaſon, fearing to miſs her, we made an early ſail all night. The next morning at day-break, we ſaw a ſhip in ſhore, and to windward, plying up the coaſt; ſhe had paſſed by us with the favour of the night, and we ſoon perceiving her not to be the *Gloucester*, got our tacks on board, and gave her chace; but it proving very little wind, ſo that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the *Tryal's* pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to purſue the chace, and board her. Lieutenant *Brett*, who commanded the barge, came up with her firſt, about nine o'clock, and running alongſide of her, he fired a volley of ſmall-ſhot between the maſts, juſt over the heads of the people on board, and then inſtantly entered with the greateſt part of his men; but the enemy made no reſiſtance, being ſufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlaſſes, and the volley they had juſt received. Lieutenant *Brett* ordered the ſails to be trimmed, and bore down to the Commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was got within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number

number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous the Commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learnt, that the prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, of about two hundred and seventy tuns burthen; she was commanded by *Marcos Morena*, a native of *Venice*, and had on board forty-three mariners: she was deep laden with steel, iron-ware, pepper, cedar, plank, snuff, rosarios, *European* bale goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, *Romish* indulgencies, and other species of merchandize; and though this cargoe, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet, with respect to the *Spaniards*, it was the most considerable capture we made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost, at *Panama*. This ship was bound to *Callao*, and had stopped at *Paita* in her passage, to take in a recruit of water and provisions, having left that place not above twenty-four hours before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. *Brett* had received some important intelligence, which he endeavoured to let the Commodore know immediately. The first person he learnt it from (though upon further examination it was confirmed by the other prisoners) was one *John Williams* an *Irishman*, whom we found on board the *Spanish* vessel. *Williams* was a Papist, who worked his passage from *Cadiz*, and had travelled over all the kingdom of *Mexico* as a pedlar: he pretended, that by this business he had once got 4 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stript of every thing he had. He was indeed at present all in rags, being just got out of *Paita* goal, where he had been confined for some misdemeanor; he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately told them, that, a few days before, a vessel came into *Paita*, where the master of her informed the Governor, that he had been chaced in the offing by a very large ship, which, from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the *English* squadron: this we then conjectured to have been the *Gloucester*, as we afterwards found it was. The Governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to *Lima*, to acquaint the Viceroy therewith: and the Royal Officer residing at *Paita*, apprehensive of a visit from the *English*, had, from his first hearing of

this news, been buſily employed in removing the king's treaſure and his own to *Piura*, a town within land, about fourteen leagues diſtant. We further learnt from our priſoners, that there was a very conſiderable ſum of money belonging to ſome merchants of *Lima*, that was now lodged in the cuſtom-houſe at *Paita*; and that this was intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel, which was then in the port of *Paita*, and was preparing to ſail with the utmoſt expedition, being bound for the bay of *Sonſonnate*, on the coaſt of *Mexico*, in order to purchaſe a part of the cargoe of the *Manila* ſhip. As the veſſel on which the money was to be ſhipped was eſteemed a prime ſailor, and had juſt received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, and might, in the opinion of the priſoners, be able to ſail the ſucceeding morning; the character they gave of her left us little reaſon to believe that our ſhip, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once ſuffered her to eſcape out of the port. Therefore, as we were now diſcovered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, and as our cruiſing in theſe parts any longer would anſwer no purpoſe; the Commodore reſolved to endeavour to ſurprize the place, having firſt minutely informed himſelf of its ſtrength and condition, and being fully ſatisfied that there was little danger of loſing many of our men in the attempt. This attack on *Paita*, beſides the treaſure it promiſed us, and its being the only enterprize it was in our power to undertake, had theſe other advantages attending it, that we ſhould, in all probability, ſupply ourſelves with great quantities of live proviſion, of which we were at this time in want; and that we ſhould likewiſe have an opportunity of ſetting our priſoners on ſhore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater conſumption of our food than our ſtock that remained was capable of furniſhing long. In all theſe lights the attempt was a moſt eligible one, and what our neceſſities, our ſituation, and every prudential conſideration, prompted us to. How it ſucceeded, and how far it anſwered our expectations, ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The taking of Paita, *and our proceedings there.*

THE town of *Paita* is ſituated in the latitude of 5° 12′ South, on a moſt barren ſoil, compoſed only of ſand and ſlate: the extent of it (as may be ſeen in the plan of it) is but ſmall, containing in all leſs than two hundred families. The houſes are only ground-floors; the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves; theſe edifices, though extremely ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years; ſo that it is ſaid, a ſmall quantity of rain falling in this country, in the year 1728, ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and as it were melted before it. The inhabitants of *Paita* are principally *Indians* and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of *Paita*, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteemed the beſt on that part of the coaſt; and is indeed a very ſecure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all veſſels coming from the North; ſince here only the ſhips from *Acapulco*, *Sonſonnate*, *Realejo*, and *Panama*, can touch and refreſh in their paſſage to *Callao*; and the length of theſe voyages (the wind for the greateſt part of the year being full againſt them) renders it impoſſible to perform them without calling upon the coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. It is true, *Paita* is ſituated on ſo parched a ſpot, that it does not itſelf furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh and a few goats: but there is an *Indian* town called *Colan*, about two or three leagues diſtant to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, *&c.* are conveyed to *Paita* on balſas or floats, for the conveniency of the ſhips that touch here; and cattle are ſometimes brought from *Piura*, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water fetched from *Colan* is whitiſh, and of a diſagreeable appearance, but is ſaid to be very wholeſome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants that it runs through large woods of ſarſaparilla, and is ſenſibly impregnated therewith. This port of *Paita*, beſides furniſhing the northern trade bound to *Callao* with water and neceſſaries, is the uſual place where paſſengers from *Acapulco*, or *Panama*, bound to *Lima*, diſembark; for, as

it is two hundred leagues from hence to *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, and, as the wind is generally contrary, the passage by sea is very tedious and fatiguing; but by land there is a favourable good road parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodations of travellers.

It appears by the plan, that the town of *Paita* is built in an open place; so that its sole protection and defence is the fort marked (b) in the plan, plate the twenty-third. It was of consequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and strength of this fort; and from the examination of our prisoners we found that there was eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, though the town itself might possibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr. *Anson*, having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved (as hath been said in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered; yet not so far but, that by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships long before day-break: however, the Commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships, being such large bodies, might be easily seen at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the *Tryal's* pinnaces, on that service; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well furnished with arms and ammuniton, he intrusted the command of the expedition to Lieutenant *Brett*, and gave him his necessary orders: and, the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and from the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place, two of the *Spanish* pilots were ordered to attend the Lieutenant, who were to conduct him to the most convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on shore; and, that we might have the greater security for their behaviour on this occasion, the Commodore took care to assure our prisoners, that they should all of them be released, and set on shore at this place, provided

provided the pilots acted faithfully; but, in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry the rest of the *Spaniards*, who were on board him, prisoners to *England*; so that the prisoners themselves were interested in our success, and therefore we had no reason to suspect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

On this occasion, I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in this business. It seems (as we afterwards learnt) he had been taken by Captain *Clipperton* above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead *Clipperton* and his people to the surprize of *Truxillo*, a town within land to the southward of *Puna*, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was carried and pillaged. Now that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he too a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very extraordinary, that I could not help mentioning it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen: but about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant *Brett*, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; though no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor there perceived him, who, instantly getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, THE ENGLISH, THE ENGLISH DOGS, *&c.* by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant *Brett*, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them toward the landing place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed

extremely near one of the boats, whiſtling juſt over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; ſo that they had reached the ſhore, and were in part diſembarked, by the time the ſecond gun fired. As ſoon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the *Spaniſh* pilots to the entrance of a narrow ſtreet, not above fifty yards diſtant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and, being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large ſquare at the end of this ſtreet, the fort being one ſide of the ſquare, and the Governor's houſe another, as may be ſeen more diſtinctly in the plan, where likewiſe the road they took from their landing to the fort is marked out by a prickt line. In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the ſhouts and clamours of threeſcore ſailors, who had been confined ſo long on ſhipboard, and were now for the firſt time on ſhore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated beſides in the preſent caſe with the hopes of an immenſe pillage; the huzza's, I ſay, of this ſpirited detachment, joined with the noiſe of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at leaſt three hundred; by which perſuaſion the inhabitants were ſo greatly intimidated, that they were much more ſolicitous about the means of flight than of reſiſtance; ſo that though, upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants that owned the treaſure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themſelves in a gallery that ran round the Governor's houſe, yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade.

On this ſucceſs, Lieutenant *Brett* divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the Governor's houſe, and, if poſſible, to ſecure the Governor, whilſt he himſelf at the head of the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it: but, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their eſcape over the walls. By this means the whole place was maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from the firſt landing, and with no other loſs than that of one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded; one of which was the *Spaniſh* pilot of the

the *Tereſa*, who received a ſlight bruiſe by a ball which grazed on his wriſt: indeed another of the company, the Honourable Mr. *Keppel*, ſon to the Earl of *Albemarle*, had a very narrow eſcape; for having on a jockey cap, one ſide of the peak was ſhaved off cloſe to his temple by a ball, which however did him no other injury.

Lieutenant *Brett*, when he had thus far happily ſucceeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's houſe, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, and to ſecure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to ſeize on the cuſtom-houſe, where the treaſure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was neceſſary to take; but he ſoon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable; for the greateſt part of them (being in bed when the place was ſurprized) had run away with ſo much precipitation, that they had not given themſelves time to put on their cloaths. In this general rout the Governor was not the laſt to ſecure himſelf, for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about ſeventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him; though ſhe too was afterwards carried off in her ſhift, by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment ordered to inveſt the houſe arrived before it. This eſcape of the Governor was an unpleaſing circumſtance, as Mr. *Anſon* had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant *Brett* to ſecure his perſon, if poſſible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ranſom of the place; but it ſeems his alertneſs rendered the execution of theſe orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except ſome ſtout Negroes which were found in the town; theſe, inſtead of being ſhut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to aſſiſt in carrying the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe and other places to the fort: however, there was care taken that they ſhould be always attended by a file of muſqueteers.

The tranſporting the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. *Brett's* people, after he had got poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſailors,

while they were thus buſied, could not be prevented from entering the houſes which lay near them, in ſearch of private pillage; where the firſt things which occurred to them being the cloaths that the *Spaniards* in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the cuſtom of the country, were moſt of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly ſeized theſe glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets, not forgetting at the ſame time the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the cloaths; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it; but thoſe, who came lateſt into the faſhion, not finding men's cloaths ſufficient to equip themſelves, were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greaſy dreſs; ſo that when a party of them thus ridiculouſly metamorphoſed firſt appeared before Mr. *Brett*, he was extremely ſurprized at the groteſque ſight, and could not immediately be ſatisfied they were his own people.

Theſe were the tranſactions of our detachment on ſhore at *Paita* the firſt night: but to return to what was done on board the *Centurion* in that interval. I muſt obſerve that, after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then ſuppoſing our detachment to be near landing, we made an eaſy ſail for the bay. About ſeven in the morning we began to open the bay, and ſoon after had a view of the town; and though we had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet it was with great joy that we firſt diſcovered an infallible ſignal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perſpectives, for through them we ſaw an *Engliſh* flag hoiſted on the flag-ſtaff of the fort, which to us was an inconteſtable proof that our people were in poſſeſſion of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off ſhore, would permit us; and at eleven, the *Tryal's* boat came on board us, loaden with dollars and church-plate; when the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's tranſactions, ſuch as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we anchored in ten fathom and a half at a mile and a half diſtance from the town, and

and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr. *Brett* had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption; but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance; for, amongst the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse, seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military musick, and practising every art to intimidate us (as our numbers on shore were by this time not unknown to them), in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was compleated: but we were not so ignorant as to believe that this body of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in streets and amongst houses, even had their numbers been three times as large; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the day light lasted, in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, *&c.* which we found here in great abundance. However, at night, to prevent any surprize, the Commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the passages leading to the parade; and, for their further security, traversed the streets with barricadoes six feet high; but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and sending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what consequence it would have been to us, had fortune seconded the prudent views of the Commodore, by permitting us to have secured the Governor; for as we found in the place many storehouses full of valuable effects, which were useless to us at present, and such as we could not find room for on board: had the Governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for the ransom of this merchandize, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from *Piura*,

which was fourteen leagues diſtant, he was ſo far elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed not to trouble himſelf about the fate of his government; ſo that though Mr. *Anſon* ſent ſeveral meſſages to him, by ſome of the inhabitants whom he had taken priſoners, offering to enter into a treaty for the ranſom of the town and goods, giving him at the ſame time an intimation that we ſhould be far from inſiſting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be ſatisfied with ſome live cattle, and a few neceſſaries for the uſe of the ſquadron, threatening too, that, if he would not condeſcend at leaſt to treat, we would ſet fire to the town, and all the warehouſes; yet the Governor was ſo imprudent and arrogant, that he deſpiſed all theſe reiterated overtures, and did not deign even to return the leaſt anſwer to them.

On the ſecond day of our being in poſſeſſion of the place, ſeveral negroe ſlaves deſerted from the enemy on the hill, and, coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our ſervice: one of theſe was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at *Panama*. We now learnt that the *Spaniards* without the town were in extreme want of water, for many of their ſlaves crept into the place by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill; and though ſome of them were ſeized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirſt among the enemy was ſo preſſing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this ſecond day we were aſſured, both by the deſerters and by theſe priſoners we took, that the *Spaniards* on the hill, who were by this time increaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night; and that one *Gordon*, a *Scots* papiſt, and Captain of a ſhip in thoſe ſeas, was to have the command of this enterprize. However, we, notwithſtanding, continued ſending off our boats, and proſecuted our work without the leaſt hurry or precipitation, till the evening; when a reinforcement was again ſent on ſhore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant *Brett* doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our poſts being connected by the means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being viſited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, theſe marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtleſs hear the drum, if not the calls of the centinels; theſe marks, I ſay,

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of our vigilance, and of our readineſs to receive them, cooled their reſolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; ſo that we paſſed this ſecond night with as little moleſtation as we had done the firſt.

We had finiſhed ſending the treaſure on board the *Centurion* the evening before; ſo that the third morning, being the 15th of *November*, the boats were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the Commodore intending to ſail in the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, purſuant to his promiſe, ſent all his priſoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on ſhore, giving orders to Lieutenant *Brett* to ſecure them in one of the churches under a ſtrict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. *Brett* was at the ſame time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches (which by good fortune ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes); and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. Theſe orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. *Brett* immediately ſet his men to work, to diſtribute pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles (of which great quantities were found here), into houſes ſituated in different ſtreets of the town, ſo that, the place being fired in many quarters at the ſame time, the deſtruction might be more violent and ſudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguiſh it. When theſe preparations were made, he, in the next place, commanded the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then, ſetting fire to thoſe houſes which were moſt to the windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off: as that part of the beach whence he intended to embark was an open place without the town, near where the churches are marked in the fore-mentioned plan, the *Spaniards* on the hill, perceiving he was retreating, reſolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay ſome foundation for their future boaſting. To this end a ſmall ſquadron of their horſe, conſiſting of about ſixty, picked out, as I ſuppoſe, for this ſervice, marched down the hill, with much ſeeming reſolution; ſo that, had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their prowеſs, we might have imagined that, now we were on the open beach with no advantage of ſituation, they would certainly have charged us: but we preſumed (and we were not miſtaken) that this was mere oſtentation; for, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the pomp and parade they at at firſt came on with, Mr. *Brett* had no ſooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy ſtopped their career, and never dared to advance a ſtep further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for ſome time retarded, by miſſing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries amongſt each other, to inform themſelves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a conſiderable delay, reſolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him. But when the laſt man was actually embarked, and the boats were juſt putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in: the place was by this time ſo thoroughly on fire, and the ſmoak covered the beach ſo effectually, that they could ſcarcely diſcern him, though they heard his voice. However, the Lieutenant inſtantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely frightened with the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtleſs were, at the pillage and deſtruction of their town. On enquiring into the cauſe of his ſtaying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a doſe of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. He was ſtrangely amazed, at firſt opening his eyes, to ſee the houſes all in a blaze on one ſide, and ſeveral *Spaniards* and *Indians* not far from him on the other. The greatneſs and multitude of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him ſufficient preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, as the likelieſt means to eſcape the enemy; and, making the beſt of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durſt (for he could not ſwim), before he ventured to look back.

I cannot but obſerve here, to the honour of our people, that, though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were aſhore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from ſailors who had been ſo long confined to a ſhip; and though part of this prudent demeanor muſt

doubtleſs be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent diſcipline to which they had been conſtantly inured on board the Commodore, yet it was doubtleſs no ſmall reputation to the men, that they ſhould generally refrain from indulging themſelves in thoſe intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands at almoſt every warehouſe.

Having mentioned this ſingle inſtance of drunkenneſs, I cannot paſs by another overſight, which was likewiſe the only one of its kind, and which was attended with very particular circumſtances. There was an *Engliſhman*, who had formerly wrought as a ſhip-carpenter in a yard at *Portſmouth*; but, leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and was employed by them at the port of *Guaiaquil*; and it being well known to his friends in *England* that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the *Centurion*, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongſt the *Spaniards* who were retired to the hill at *Paita*, he was ambitious (as it ſhould ſeem) of acquiring ſome reputation amongſt his new maſters; with this view, he came down unarmed to a centinel of ours, placed at ſome diſtance from the fort towards the enemy, to whom he pretended that he was deſirous of ſurrendering himſelf, and of entering into our ſervice. Our centinel had a cocked piſtol in his hand; but, being deceived by the other's fair ſpeeches, he was ſo imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; ſo that the ſhipwright, watching his opportunity, ruſhed on the centinel, and, ſeizing his piſtol, wrenched it out of his hand, and inſtantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time, two of our people, who ſeeing the fellow advance had ſuſpected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to purſue him; but he got to the top of the hill before they could reach him, and then turning about fired the piſtol; whereupon his purſuers immediately returned the fire, and, though he was at a great diſtance, and the creſt of the hill hid him as ſoon as they had fired, ſo that they took it for granted they had miſſed him, yet we afterwards learnt that he was ſhot through the body, and had fallen down dead the very next ſtep he took after he was out of ſight. The centinel too, who had been thus groſsly impoſed upon, did not eſcape unpuniſhed; ſince he was ordered to be ſeverely whipt for being thus ſhamefully

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ſurprized upon his poſt, and having thereby given an example of careleſſneſs, which, if followed in other inſtances, might prove fatal to us all. But to return:

By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the beſt of their way to the ſquadron, the flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and had got ſuch hold, both by means of the combuſtibles that had been diſtributed for that purpoſe, and by the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was ſufficiently apparent, no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, eſpecially where the buildings burnt with ſuch facility and violence, being a very ſingular ſpectacle, Mr. *Brett* had the curioſity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ſhips in the harbour, as may be ſeen in the twenty-fourth plate.

Our detachment under Lieutenant *Brett* having ſafely joined the ſquadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening. He found, when he firſt came into the bay, ſix veſſels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ſhip, which, according to our intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of *Mexico*, and which, as we were perſuaded ſhe was a good ſailor, we reſolved to take with us: the others were two ſnows, a bark, and two row-gallies of thirty-ſix oars a-piece: theſe laſt, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the ſame kind built at divers ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of *Callao*; for the *Spaniards*, on the firſt intelligence of our ſquadron and its force, expected that we ſhould attempt the city of *Lima*. The Commodore, having no occaſion for theſe other veſſels, had ordered the maſts of all five of them to be cut away at his firſt arrival; and on his leaving the place they were towed out of the harbour, and ſcuttled and ſunk; and the command of the remaining ſhip, called the *Solidad*, being given to Mr. *Hughs* the Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the ſquadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor, and ſailed out of the bay, being at preſent augmented to ſix ſail, that is, the *Centurion*, and the *Tryal's* prize, together with the *Carmelo*,

melo, the *Tereſa*, the *Carmin*, and our laſt-acquired veſſel the *Solidad*.

And now, before I entirely acquit the account of our tranſactions at this place, it may not perhaps be improper to give a ſuccinct relation of the booty we got here, and of the loſs the *Spaniards* ſuſtained. I have before obſerved, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but, as moſt of them were what we could neither diſpoſe of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandize can only be rudely gueſſed at. The *Spaniards*, in their repreſentations ſent to the court of *Madrid* (as we were afterwards aſſured), eſtimated their whole loſs at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is conſidered, that no ſmall part of the goods we burnt there were of the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſpecies, as broad-cloths, ſilks, cambricks, velvets, *&c.* I cannot but think, their valuation ſufficiently moderate. As to ourſelves, the acquiſition we made, though inconſiderable in compariſon of what we deſtroyed, was yet far from deſpicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of 30,000 *l.* ſterling, beſides ſeveral rings, bracelets, and jewels, whoſe intrinſic value we could not then determine; and over and above all this, the plunder which became the property of the immediate captors was very great; ſo that upon the whole it was by much the moſt important booty we met with upon that coaſt.

There remains ſtill another matter to be related, which, on account of the ſignal honour which our national character in thoſe parts has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a diſtinct and circumſtantial diſcuſſion. It has been already obſerved, that all the priſoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were here put on ſhore, and diſcharged; amongſt whom there were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, eſpecially a youth of about ſeventeen years of age, ſon of the Vice-preſident of the Council of *Chili*. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uſe the Eccleſiaſticks had made of it, had filled the natives of thoſe countries with the moſt terrible ideas of the *Engliſh* cruelty; we always found our priſoners, at their firſt coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety: particularly this youth whom I laſt mentioned, having never been

been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving manner, regretting in very plaintive terms his parents, his brothers, his ſiſters, and his native country; of all which he was fully perſuaded he had taken a laſt farewel, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel ſervitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the *Spaniards* that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr. *Anſon* conſtantly exerted his utmoſt endeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care that as many of the principal people among them as there were room for ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and humanity. But, notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that the firſt day or two they did not quit their fears, ſuſpecting the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought-of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our ſincerity, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful, ſo that it was often diſputable whether or no they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune; for the youth I have abovementioned, who was near two months on board us, had at laſt ſo far conquered his melancholy ſurmiſes, and had taken ſuch an affection to Mr. *Anſon*, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been aſked, he would not have preferred a voyage to *England* in the *Centurion*, to the being ſet on ſhore at *Paita*, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his priſoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole *Engliſh* nation. But, whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr. *Anſon* before the capture of the *Theſa*, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly increaſed by his conduct towards thoſe women whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that veſſel; for the leaving them in

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the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to ſtay with them as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what might be expected, from an enemy and an heretic, that the *Spaniards* on board, though they had themſelves experienced his beneficence, were ſurprized at this new inſtance of it, and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves too were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at *Paita*, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the *Centurion*, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed, all the priſoners left us with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jeſuit in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr. *Anſon* juſtice at all times; adding, that his uſage of the priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occaſions; but that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, and ſo extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtical character would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. Indeed, we were afterwards informed, that he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head; but had, both at *Lima* and at other places, given the greateſt encomiums to our Commodore; the Jeſuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical ſenſe that article of his church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved.

Nor let it be imagined, that the impreſſions which the *Spaniards* hence received to our advantage is a matter of ſmall import; for, not to mention ſeveral of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions, the *Spaniards* are a nation, whoſe good opinion of us is doubtleſs of more conſequence than that of all the world beſides; not only as the commerce we had formerly carried on with them,

them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is ſo extremely valuable; but alſo as the tranſacting it does ſo immediately depend on the honour and good faith of thoſe who are entruſted with its management. However, had no national conveniencies attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would not have leſs deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to thoſe whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I ſhall only add, that, by his conſtant attachment to theſe humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation amongſt the *Creolian Spaniards*, which is not confined merely to the coaſt of the *South Seas*, but is extended through all the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*; ſo that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of moſt of the *Spaniſh* inhabitants of that prodigious Empire.

CHAP. VII.

From our departure from Paita, *to our arrival at* Quibo.

WHEN we got under ſail from the coaſt of *Paita* (which, as I have already obſerved, was about midnight, on the 16th of *November*), we ſtood to the weſtward; and in the morning the Commodore gave orders, that the whole ſquadron ſhould ſpread themſelves, to look out for the *Glouceſter*; for we then drew near the ſtation where Captain *Mitchel* had been directed to cruiſe, and we hourly expected to get ſight of him; but the whole day paſſed without ſeeing him.

And now a jealouſy, which had taken its riſe at *Paita*, between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the Commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to appeaſe it. The ground of this animoſity was the plunder gotten at *Paita*, which thoſe who had acted on ſhore had appropriated to themſelves, conſidering it as a reward for the riſques they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhewn in that ſervice; but thoſe who had remained on board, looked on this as a very partial and unjuſt procedure, urging,

ing, that, had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred the acting on ſhore to the continuing on board; that their duty, while their comrades were on ſhore, was extremely fatiguing; for, beſides the labour of the day, they were conſtantly under arms all night, to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then neceſſary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture; that upon the whole it could not be denied but that the preſence of a ſufficient force on board was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterprize as the action of the others on ſhore, and therefore thoſe who had continued on board maintained, that they could not be deprived of their ſhare of the plunder without manifeſt injuſtice. Theſe were the conteſts amongſt our men, which were carried on with great heat on both ſides; and though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but thoſe on board had an equal right), yet, as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the Commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving *Paita*, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck; where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion; but then repreſenting to them the reaſons urged, by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the plunder, he told them, that he thought theſe reaſons very concluſive, and that the expectations of their comrades were juſtly founded; and therefore he inſiſted, that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe, who had been employed in taking the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion; and, to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the Commodore added, that, as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed among thoſe who had beeen detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troubleſome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with miſchievous

conſequences

conſequences, was by the Commodore's prudence ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company; not but there were ſome few, whoſe ſelfiſh diſpoſitions were uninfluenced by the juſtice of this procedure, and who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important buſineſs employed the beſt part of the day after we came from *Paita*. And now, at night, having no ſight of the *Glouceſter*, the Commodore ordered the ſquadron to bring to, that we might not paſs her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and at ten we ſaw a ſail, to which we gave chace; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to diſcover her to be the *Glouceſter*, with a ſmall veſſel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learnt that Captain *Mitchel*, in the whole time of his cruiſe, had only taken two prizes; one of them being a ſmall ſnow, whoſe cargo conſiſted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000 *l.* in ſpecie; and the other a large boat, or launch, which the *Glouceſter's* barge came up with near the ſhore. The priſoners on board this laſt veſſel alledged, that they were very poor, and that their loading conſiſted only of cotton; though the circumſtances in which the barge ſurprized them ſeemed to inſinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be; for the *Glouceſter's* people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pye, ſerved up in ſilver diſhes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened ſeveral of the jars on board, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the priſoners gave him; but the cargo being taken in the *Glouceſter*, and there examined more ſtrictly, they were agreeably ſurprized to find that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of falſe package; and that there was concealed amongſt the cotton, in every jar, a conſiderable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount in the whole of near 12,000 *l.* This treaſure was going to *Paita*, and belonged to the ſame merchants who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money we had taken there; ſo that, had this boat eſcaped the *Glouceſter*, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Beſides theſe two prizes which we have mentioned, the *Glouceſter's* people told us, that they had been

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in sight of two or three other ships of the enemy which had escaped them; and one of them, we had reason to believe from some of our intelligence, was of immense value.

Being now joined by the *Gloucester* and her prize, it was resolved that we should stand to the northward, and make the best of their way either to Cape *St Lucas* on *California*, or to Cape *Corientes* on the coast of *Mexico*. Indeed the Commodore, when at *Juan Fernandes*, had determined with himself to touch in the neighbourhood of *Panama*, and to endeavour to get some correspondence over-land with the fleet under the command of Admiral *Vernon*; for when we departed from *England*, we left a large force at *Portsmouth*, which was intended to be sent to the *West Indies*, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the *Spanish* settlements. And Mr. *Anson* taking it for granted that this enterprize had succeeded, and that *Porto Bello* perhaps might be then garrisoned by *British* troops, he hoped, that on his arrival at the *Isthmus*, he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side, either by the *Indians*, who were greatly disposed in our favour, or even by the *Spaniards* themselves, some of whom for proper rewards might be induced to carry on this intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; so that Mr. *Anson* flattered himself, that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men from the other side, and that, by settling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the *West Indies*, he might have taken even *Panama* itself; which would have given to the *British* nation the possession of that *Isthmus*, whereby we should have been in effect masters of all the treasures of *Peru*, and should have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the house of *Bourbon*.

Such were the projects which the Commodore revolved in his thoughts at the Island of *Juan Fernandes*, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the success of our force in the *West Indies* been answerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but these views would have been the most prudent that could have been thought of. But, in examining the papers which were found on board the *Carmelo*, the first

prize

prize we took, we learnt (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt againſt *Carthagena* had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet in that part of the world would engage in any new enterprize, that would at all facilitate this plan. Mr. *Anſon* therefore gave over all hopes of being reinforced a-croſs the *Iſthmus*, and conſequently had no inducement at preſent to proceed to *Panama*, as he was incapable of attacking the place; and there was great reaſon to believe that by this time there was a general embargo on all the coaſt.

The only feaſible meaſure then which was left us, was to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of *California*, or to the adjacent coaſt of *Mexico*, there to cruiſe for the *Manila* Galeon, which we knew was now at ſea, bound to the port of *Acapulco*; and we doubted not to get on that ſtation time enough to intercept her; for this ſhip does not uſually arrive at *Acapulco* till towards the middle of *January*, and we were now but in the middle of *November*, and did not conceive that our paſſage thither would coſt us above a month or five weeks; ſo that we imagined we had near twice as much time as was neceſſary for our purpoſe. Indeed there was a buſineſs which we foreſaw would occaſion ſome delay; but we flattered ourſelves that it would be diſpatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of priſoners we had entertained on board, ſince our leaving the Iſland of *Fernandes*, had ſo far exhauſted our ſtock, that it was impoſſible to think of venturing upon this paſſage to the coaſt of *Mexico*, till we had procured a freſh ſupply; eſpecially as at *Paita*, where we had ſome hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our conſumption during our ſtay there. It was for ſome time a matter of deliberation, where we ſhould take in this neceſſary article; but by conſulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our priſoners, we at laſt reſolved for the Iſland of *Quibo*, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of *Panama*: nor was it but on good grounds that the Commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the ſquadron. Indeed there was a ſmall Iſland, called *Cocos*, which was leſs out of our way than *Quibo*, where ſome of the buccaneers have pretended they found water; but none of our priſoners knew any thing of it, and it was thought

thought too dangerous to riſque the ſafety of the ſquadron, by expoſing ourſelves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of thoſe legendary writers, of whoſe miſrepreſentations and falſities we had almoſt daily experience. Beſides, by going to *Quibo*, we were not without hopes that ſome of the enemy's ſhips bound to or from *Panama* might fall into our hands, particularly ſuch of them as were put to ſea before they had any intelligence of our ſquadron.

Determined therefore by theſe reaſons for *Quibo*, we directed our courſe northward, being eight ſail in company, and conſequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we diſcovered Cape *Blanco*, bearing S. S. E. ½ E. ſeven miles diſtant. This Cape lies in the latitude of 40°: 15′ South, and is always made by ſhips bound either to windward or to leeward; ſo that off this Cape is a moſt excellent ſtation to cruiſe upon the enemy. By this time we found that our laſt prize, the *Solidad*, was far from anſwering the character given her of a good ſailor; and ſhe and the *Santa Tereſa* delaying us conſiderably, the Commodore commanded them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burnt; and having given proper inſtructions, and a rendezvous to the *Glouceſter* and the other prizes, we proceeded in our courſe for *Quibo*; and on the 22d in the morning, ſaw the Iſland of *Plata*, bearing Eaſt, diſtant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to ſtand cloſe in with it, both to diſcover if there were any ſhips between that Iſland and the Continent, and likewiſe to look out for a ſtream of freſh water, which was reported to be there, and which would have ſaved us the trouble of going to *Quibo*; but ſhe returned without having ſeen any ſhip, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon Point *Manta* bore S. E. by E. ſeven miles diſtant; and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Captain *Mitchell* took this opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the *Glouceſter* in the *Spaniſh* launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board our prizes, to complete their ſtock for ſix months: and that the *Centurion* might be the better prepared to give the *Manila* ſhip (one of which we were told was of an immenſe ſize) a warm reception, the Carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and fore-

tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

On the 25th we had a ſight of the Iſland of *Gallo*, bearing E. S. E. ½ E. four leagues diſtant; and from hence we croſſed the bay of *Panama* with a N. W. courſe, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the Iſland of *Quibo*; but we afterwards found that we ought to have ſtood more to the weſtward; for the winds in a ſhort time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult to gain the Iſland. After paſſing the equinoctial (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the *Cordilleras*, and ſtanding more and more towards the *Iſthmos*, where the communication of the atmoſphere to the eaſtward and the weſtward was no longer interrupted, we found in a very few days an extraordinary alteration in the climate; for, inſtead of that uniform temperature where neither the exceſs of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for ſeveral days together cloſe and ſultry weather, reſembling what we had before met with on the coaſt of *Brazil*, and in other parts between the tropics on the eaſtern ſide of *America*. We had beſides frequent calms and heavy rains; which we at firſt aſcribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all ſeaſons of the year; but obſerving that it attended us to the latitude of ſeven degrees North, we were at length induced to believe, that the ſtormy ſeaſon, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, the Vandevals, was not yet over; though many writers, particularly Captain *Shelvocke*, poſitively aſſert, that this ſeaſon begins in *June*, and is ended in *November*; and our priſoners all affirmed the ſame thing. But perhaps its end may not be always conſtant, and it might laſt this year longer than uſual.

On the 27th, Captain *Mitchel* having finiſhed the clearing of his largeſt prize, ſhe was ſcuttled, and ſet on fire; but we ſtill conſiſted of five ſhips, and were fortunate enough to find them all good ſailors; ſo that we never occaſioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long diſuſed to, we found it neceſſary to caulk the decks and ſides of the *Centurion*, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of *December* we had a view of the Iſland of *Quibo*; the Eaſt end of which then bore from us N. N. W. four leagues diſtant, and the Iſland of *Quicara*, W. N. W. about

about the ſame diſtance. Here we ſtruck ground with ſixty-five fathom of line, the bottom conſiſting of grey ſand, with black ſpecks. There is inſerted in the 28th plate (being contained in the ſame plate with the view of the hill of *Petaplan*) a view of thoſe two Iſlands, where *(a)* repreſents the S. E. end of *Quibo*, bearing N. by W. four leagues diſtant: and *(b)* the iſland of *Quicara*, which bears from the point *(a)* W. S. W. ½ S. and is diſtant from it four leagues, the point *(a)* being itſelf in the latitude of 7°: 20′ North. When we had thus got ſight of the land, we found the wind to hang weſterly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it adviſeable to ſtand off till morning, as there are ſaid to be ſome ſhoals in the entrance of the channel. At ſix the next morning Point *Mariato* bore N. E. ½ N. three or four leagues diſtant. In weathering this point, all the ſquadron, except the *Centurion*, were very near it; and the *Glouceſter*, being the leeward-moſt ſhip, was forced to tack and ſtand to the ſouthward, ſo that we loſt ſight of her. At nine, the iſland of *Sebaco* bore N. W. by N. four leagues diſtant; but the wind ſtill proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the ſucceeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, at eleven the next morning, the wind happily ſettled in the S. S. W. and we bore away for the S. S. E. end of the iſland, and about three in the afternoon entered the *Canal Bueno*, paſſing round a ſhoal which ſtretches off about two miles from the ſouth point of the iſland. This *Canal Bueno*, or *Good Channel*, is at leaſt ſix miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half diſtance of the breakers; though, in all probability, if it had been neceſſary, we might have ventured much nearer without incurring the leaſt danger. At ſeven in the evening, we anchored in thirty-three fathom muddy ground; the South point of the iſland bearing S. E. by S. a remarkable high part of the Iſland W. by N. and the Iſland *Sebaco* E. by N. Being thus arrived at this iſland of *Quibo*, the account of the place, and of our tranſactions there, ſhall be referred to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

Our proceedings at Quibo, *with an account of the place.*

THE next morning after our anchoring, an officer was diſpatched on ſhore to diſcover the watering place, who, having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent the long boat for a load of water, and at the ſame time we weighed, and ſtood farther in with our ſhips. At two we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken ſhells, the watering place now bearing from us N. W. ½ N. only three quarters of a mile diſtant. A plan of the road where we lay, and of the Eaſt-end of the iſland, is to be ſeen in the 29th plate, where the ſoundings are laid down, ſuch as we found them, the latitude of the S. E. point of the iſland being, as hath been already mentioned, 7° 20 North.

This iſland of *Quibo* is extremely convenient for wooding and watering, ſince the trees grow cloſe to the high-water mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea; ſo that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole iſland is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It conſiſts of a continued wood ſpread all over the whole ſurface of the country, which preſerves its verdure the year round. Amongſt the other wood, we found there abundance of caſſia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared ſingular to us, that, conſidering the climate and the ſhelter, we ſhould ſee no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of theſe laſt there were prodigious flights. Next to theſe birds, the animals we found in moſt plenty were monkeys and guanos, and theſe we frequently killed for food; for notwithſtanding there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; ſo that, though we ſaw them often, we killed only two during our ſtay. Our priſoners aſſured us, that this iſland abounded with tigers; and we did once diſcover the print of a tiger's paw upon the beach, but the tigers themſelves we never ſaw. The *Spaniards* too informed us, that there was frequently found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which they ſaid darted itſelf from

from the boughs of trees on either man or beaſt that came within its reach, and whoſe ſting they believed to be inevitable death. Beſides theſe dangerous land animals, the ſea thereabouts is infeſted with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary ſize; and we often obſerved a large kind of flat-fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which we ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl-divers, by claſping them in its fins as they riſe from the bottom; and we were told that the divers, for their ſecurity, are now always armed with a ſharp knife; which, when they are entangled, they ſtick into the belly of the fiſh, and thereby diſengage themſelves from its embraces.

Whilſt the ſhip continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. And in the places where they put on ſhore in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular near the N. E. point of the iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind, which human art or induſtry hath hitherto produced. It was a river of tranſparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty in length. The channel it fell in was very irregular; for it was entirely compoſed of rock, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by theſe the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted: for in ſome parts it ran ſloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular deſcent. All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood; and even the huge maſſes of rock, which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt-trees. Whilſt the Commodore, with thoſe accompanying him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in ſight (as it were ſtill to heighten and animate the proſpect) a prodigious flight of mackaws, which, hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their varie-

gated plumage, ſo that ſome of the ſpectators cannot refrain from a kind of tranſport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary waterfall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, though they diſcovered no inhabitants, yet they ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl ſcattered up and down in different places: theſe were the remains left by the pearl-iſhers from *Panama*, who often frequent this place in the ſummer ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of *Panama*, do ſo abound at *Quibo*, that, by advancing a very little way into the ſea, you might ſtoop down, and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and out of curioſity we opened ſome of them with a view of taſting them; but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned theſe oyſters and the pearl-fiſhery, I muſt beg leave to recite a few particulars relating to that ſubject.

The oyſters moſt productive of pearls are thoſe found in conſiderable depths: for though what are taken up by wading near ſhore are of the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls they contain are few in number, and very ſmall. It is ſaid too, that the pearl partakes, in ſome degree, of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is lodged; ſo that, if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill coloured.

The taking up oyſters from great depths, for the ſake of their pearls, is a work performed by negro ſlaves, of which the inhabitants of *Panama* and the neighbouring coaſt formerly kept vaſt numbers, which were carefully trained to this buſineſs. Theſe are ſaid not to be eſteemed compleat divers, till they have by degrees been able to protract their ſtay under water ſo long, that the blood guſhes out from their noſe, mouth, and ears. And it is the tradition of the country, that, when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehenſion either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally ſtopping of itſelf, or that there is any probability of their being ever ſubject to it a ſecond time. But to return from this digreſſion.

Though the pearl oyſter, as hath been ſaid, was incapable of being eaten, yet that defect was more than re-paid by

by the turtle; a dainty which the ſea at this place furniſhed us with in the greateſt plenty and perfection. There are generally reckoned four ſpecies of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawkſbill, and the green turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholeſome; the hawkſbill (which affords the tortoiſe-ſhell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally eſteemed, by the greateſt part of thoſe who are acquainted with its taſte, to be the moſt delicious of all eatables; and that it is a moſt wholeſome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience; for we fed on this laſt ſpecies, or the green turtle, near four months: and conſequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not poſſibly have eſcaped us. At this iſland we caught what quantity we pleaſed with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on ſhore to lay their eggs, which they generally depoſit in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, we uſually diſperſed ſeveral of our men along the beach, whoſe buſineſs it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leiſure. By this means we not only ſecured a ſufficient ſtock for the time we ſtayed on the iſland, but we carried a number of them with us to ſea, which proved of great ſervice, both in lengthening out our ſtore of proviſion, and in heartening the whole crew with an almoſt conſtant ſupply of freſh and palatable food; for the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 200 *lb.* weight each, thoſe we took with us laſted near a month; ſo that, before our ſtore was ſpent, we met with a freſh recruit on the coaſt of *Mexico*, where, in the heat of the day, we often ſaw great numbers of them faſt aſleep, floating on the ſurface of the water. Upon diſcovering them, we uſually ſent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver: and as the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to riſe cloſe upon it, when, ſeizing the ſhell near the tail, and preſſing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to ſtrike with its claws, which motion ſupported both it and the diver till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted

turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which we continued at ſea; and though, when at the Iſland of *Quibo*, we had already been three months on board, without otherwiſe putting our feet on ſhore than in the few days we ſtayed there (except thoſe employed in the attack at *Paita*), yet in the whole ſeven months, from our leaving *Juan Fernandez* to our anchoring in the harbour of *Chiquetan*, we buried no more in the whole ſquadron than two men; a moſt inconteſtable proof that the turtle, on which we fed for the laſt four months of this term, was at leaſt innocent, if not ſomething more.

Conſidering the ſcarcity of other proviſions on ſome part of the coaſt of the *South Seas*, it appears wonderful, that a ſpecies of food ſo very palatable and ſalubrious as turtle, and there ſo much abounding, ſhould be proſcribed by the *Spaniards* as unwholeſome, and little leſs than poiſonous. Perhaps the ſtrange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and ſuperſtitious averſion, which is ſtrongly rooted in the inhabitatants of thoſe countries, and of which we had many inſtances during the courſe of this navigation. I have already obſerved, that we put our *Spaniſh* priſoners on ſhore at *Paita*, and that the *Glouceſter* ſent theirs to *Manta*; but as we had taken in our prizes ſome *Indian* and Negro ſlaves, we did not diſmiſs them with their maſters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to aſſiſt in navigating our ſhips. Theſe poor people, being poſſeſſed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were aſtoniſhed at our feeding on turtle, and ſeemed fully perſuaded that it would ſoon deſtroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even ſuffered in our health, by a continuation of this diet, they at laſt got ſo far the better of their averſion, as to be perſuaded to taſte it, to which the abſence of all other kinds of freſh proviſions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very ſparingly, that they firſt began to eat of it; but the reliſh improving upon them by degrees, they at laſt grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the luxurious and plentiful repaſts it would always be in their power to procure when they ſhould again return back to their country. Thoſe who are acquainted with the manner of life of theſe unhappy

happy wretches need not be told, that, next to large draughts of ſpirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greateſt joy they know, and conſequently the diſcovering the means of being always ſupplied with what quantity they pleaſed, of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and maſters could indulge in, was doubtleſs a circumſtance which they conſidered as the moſt fortunate that could befall them. After this digreſſion, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on the Iſland of *Quibo*, and the ſtore of it we thence took to ſea, in ſome meaſure led me into, I ſhall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days time we had compleated our buſineſs at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coaſt of *Mexico* to intercept the *Manila* galeon; but the wind, being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, which we did through the ſame channel by which we entered, we were obliged to keep hovering about the Iſland, in hopes of getting ſight of the *Glouceſter*, who, as I have in the laſt chapter mentioned, was ſeparated from us on our firſt arrival. It was the ninth of *December*, in the morning, when we put to ſea; and continuing to the ſouthward of the Iſland, looking out for the *Glouceſter*, we on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward of us, to which we gave chace, and coming up with her took her. She proved to be a bark from *Panama*, called the *Jeſu Nazareno*. She had nothing on board but ſome oakum, about a ton of rock ſalt, and between 30 and 40 *l.* in ſpecie, moſt of it conſiſting of ſmall ſilver money, intended for purchaſing a cargo of proviſions at *Cheripe*, an inconſiderable village on the Continent.

And on occaſion of this prize I cannot but obſerve, for the uſe of future cruizers, that, had we been in want of proviſions, we had by this capture an obvious method of ſupplying ourſelves: for at *Cheripe* there is a conſtant ſtore of proviſions prepared; for the veſſels who go thither every week from *Panama*, the market of *Panama* being chiefly ſupplied from thence: ſo that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might eaſily have ſeized a large quantity without any hazard, ſince *Cheripe* is a place of no ſtrength. As proviſions are the ſtaple commodity of that

place and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumſtance may be of great uſe to ſuch cruizers as find their proviſions grow ſcant, and yet are deſirous of continuing on that coaſt as long as poſſible. But to return.

On the 12th of *December* we were at laſt relieved from the perplexity we had ſuffered, occaſioned by the ſeparation of the *Gloucester*; for on that day ſhe joined us, and informed us that, in tacking to the ſouthward, on our firſt arrival, ſhe had ſprung her fore-top-maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. And now we ſcuttled and ſunk the *Jeſu Nazarene*, the prize we took laſt; and having the greateſt impatience to get into a proper ſtation for intercepting the *Manila* galeon, we ſtood altogether to the weſtward, leaving the Iſland of *Quibo*, notwithſtanding all the impediments we met with, about nine days after our firſt coming in ſight of it.

CHAP. IX.

From Quibo *to the coaſt of* Mexico.

ON the 12th of *December* we ſtood from *Quibo* to the weſtward, and the ſame day the Commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the Captains of the men of war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvouſes they were to make, and the courſes they were to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation: and firſt, they were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of *Acapulco*, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes of 18 or 19 degrees; from thence they were to beat up the coaſt at eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, till they came a-breaſt of Cape *Corientes*, in the latitude of 20°: 20′. After they arrived there, they were to continue cruiſing on that ſtation till the 14th of *February*, when they were to depart for the middle Iſland of the *Tres Marias*, in the latitude of 21°: 25′, bearing from Cape *Corientes* N. W. by N. twenty-five leagues diſtant: and if at this Iſland they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the Iſland of *Macao*, on the coaſt of *China*. Theſe orders being diſtributed to all

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the ſhips, we had little doubt of arriving ſoon upon our intended ſtation; as we expected, upon the increaſing our offing from *Quito*, to fall in with the regular trade-wind: but, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month either by tempeſtuous weather from the weſtern quarter, or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a ſultry air; ſo that it was the 25th of *December* before we ſaw the Iſland of *Cocos*, which according to our reckoning was only a hundred leagues from the Continent; and even then we had the mortification to make ſo little way, that we did not loſe ſight of it again in five days.

This Iſland we found to be in the latitude of 5°: 20′ N. It has a high hummock towards the weſtern part, which deſcends gradually, and at laſt terminates in a low point to the eaſtward. From the Iſland of *Cocos* we ſtood W. by N. and were till the 9th of *January* in running an hundred leagues more. We had at firſt flattered ourſelves, that the uncertain weather and weſtern gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the Continent; from which, as we got more diſtant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eaſtern trade-wind; but as our hopes were ſo long baffled, and our patience quite exhauſted, we began at length to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe we had in view, that of intercepting the *Manila* galeon. This produced a general dejection amongſt us, as we had at firſt conſidered the project as almoſt infallible, and had indulged ourſelves in the moſt boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould thence receive: however, our deſpondency was at laſt ſomewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of *January*, a gale ſprung up for the firſt time from the N. E. and on this we took the *Carmelo* in tow, as the *Glouceſter* did the *Carmin*, making all the ſail we could to improve the advantage, becauſe we ſtill ſuſpected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not laſt long; though the next day we had the ſatisfaction to find that the wind did not only continue in the ſame quarter, but blew with ſo much briſkneſs and ſteadineſs that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. As we now advanced apace towards our ſtation, our hopes began again to revive, and our former deſpair by degrees gave place to more ſanguine prejudices; inſomuch that, though the cuſtomary ſeaſon of the arrival of the galeon at *Acapulco* was already elapſed, yet we were by this time

unreaſonable enough to flatter ourſelves that ſome accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her paſſage beyond its uſual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of *January*, when we were advanced to to the latitude of 12°: 50′, but on that day it ſhifted to the weſtward of the North: this change we imputed to our having haled up too ſoon, though we then eſteemed ourſelves full ſeventy leagues from the coaſt; whence, and by our former experience, we were fully ſatisfied that the trade-wind doth not take place but at a conſiderable diſtance from the Continent. After this, the wind was not ſo favourable to us as it had been; however, we ſtill continued to advance, and, on the 26th of *January*, being then to the northward of *Acapulco*, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught ſome turtle on the ſurface of the water, and ſeveral dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores. One day, as one of the ſail-maker's mates was fiſhing from the end of the gib-boom, he loſt his hold, and dropped into the ſea; and the ſhip, which was then going at the rate of ſix or ſeven knots, went directly over him; but as we had the *Carmelo* in tow, we inſtantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over ſeveral ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and, twiſting it round his arm, he was thereby haled into the ſhip, without having received any other injury than a wrench in the arm, of which he ſoon recovered.

When, on the 26th of *January*, we ſtood to the eaſtward, we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; yet, though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſight of it at ſun-ſet, and therefore we continued our courſe, not doubting but we ſhould ſee it by the next morning. About ten at night, we diſcovered a light on the larboard bow, bearing from us N. N. E. The *Tryal's* prize too, who was about a mile a-head of us, made a ſignal at the ſame time for ſeeing a ſail; as we had none of us any doubt but what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion that it was the *Manila* galeon, which had been ſo long the object of our wiſhes; and what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one; for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried

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in the top of one, for a direction to her conſort. We immediately caſt off the *Carmelo*, and preſſed forward with all our canvas, making a ſignal for the *Glouceſter* to do the ſame. Thus we chaced the light, keeping all our hands at their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as we ſometimes conceived the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns; for ſome on board us poſitively averred that, beſides the light, they could plainly diſcern her ſails. The Commodore himſelf was ſo fully perſuaded that we ſhould be ſoon along-ſide of her, that he ſent for his firſt Lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to ſee all the great guns loaded with two-round ſhot for the firſt broad-ſide, and after that with one-round ſhot and one grape; ſtrictly charging him, at the ſame time, not to ſuffer a a gun to be fired, till he, the Commodore, ſhould give orders, which he informed the Lieutenant would not be till we arrived within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy. In this conſtant and eager attention we continued all night, always preſuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this *Manila* ſhip, whoſe wealth, and that of her ſuppoſed conſort, we now eſtimated by round millions; but when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were moſt ſtrangely and vexatiouſly diſappointed, by finding that the light which had occaſioned all this buſtle and expectancy was only a fire on the ſhore. It muſt be owned the circumſtances of this deception were ſo extraordinary as to be ſcarcely credible; for, by our run during the night, and the diſtance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we firſt diſcovered it, was about twenty-five leagues from us; and yet, I believe, there was no perſon on board who doubted of its being a ſhip's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards; however, it was not a vulcano, but rather, as I ſuppoſe, a tract of ſtubble or heath, ſet on fire for ſome purpoſe of agriculture.

At ſun-riſing, after this mortifying deluſion, we found ourſelves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N. W. to E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. On this land we obſerved two remarkable hummocks, ſuch as are caſually called paps, which bore North from us; theſe a *Spaniſh* pilot and two *Indians*, who were the only perſons amongſt us that pretended to

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have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of *Acapulco*. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coaſt; for we found theſe peaks to be in the latitude of 17°: 56′, whereas thoſe over *Acapulco* are ſaid to be 17 degrees only; and we afterwards found our ſuſpicions of their ſkill to be well grounded: however, they were very confident, and aſſured us, that the height of the mountains was itſelf an infallible mark of the harbour, the coaſt, as they pretended, though falſely, being generally low to the eaſtward and weſtward of it.

Being now in the track of the *Manila* galeon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of *January*, whether ſhe was or was not arrived; but, examining our priſoners about it, they aſſured us, that ſhe was ſometimes known to come in after the middle of *February*; and they endeavoured to perſuade us, that the fire we had ſeen on ſhore was a proof that ſhe was yet at ſea, it being cuſtomary, as they ſaid, to make uſe theſe fires as ſignals for her direction, when ſhe continued longer out than ordinary. On this reaſoning of our priſoners, ſtrengthened by our propenſity to believe them in a matter which ſo pleaſingly flattered our wiſhes, we reſolved to cruiſe for her ſome days; and we accordingly ſpread our ſhips at the diſtance of twelve leagues from the coaſt, in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould paſs us unobſerved; however, not ſeeing her ſoon, we were at intervals inclined to ſuſpect that ſhe had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refreſh our people, the uncertainty of our preſent ſituation gave us great uneaſineſs, and we were very ſolicitous to get ſome poſitive intelligence, which might either ſet us at liberty to conſult our neceſſities if the galeon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our preſent cruiſe with chearfulneſs if ſhe was not. With this view the Commodore, after examining our priſoners very particularly, reſolved to ſend a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of *Acapulco*, to ſee if the *Manila* ſhip was there or not; one of the *Indians* being very poſitive that this might be done without the boat itſelf being diſcovered. To execute this enterprize, the barge was diſpatched the 6th of *February*, carrying a ſufficient crew and two officers, as alſo a *Spaniſh* pilot, with the *Indian* who had inſiſted on the facility of this project, and had undertaken to conduct it.

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Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr. *Anſon*, that, agreeable to our ſuſpicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the *Spaniſh* pilots had at firſt aſſerted *Acapulco* to lie; that after they had ſatisfied themſelves in this particular, they ſteered to the eaſtward, in hopes of diſcovering it, and had coaſted along ſhore thirty-two leagues; that in this whole range the met chiefly with ſandy beaches of a great length, over which the ſea broke with ſo much violence that it was impoſſible for a boat to land; and at the end of their run they could juſt diſcover two paps at a very great diſtance to the eaſtward, which, from their appearance and their latitude, they concluded to be thoſe in the neighbourhood of *Acapulco*; but that, not having a ſufficient quantity of freſh water and proviſion for their paſſage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their diſappointment. On this intelligence we all made ſail to the eaſtward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port; the Commodore being determined to ſend the barge a ſecond time upon the ſame enterprize, when we were arrived within a moderate diſtance: accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of *February*, we being by that time conſiderably advanced, the barge was again diſpatched, and particular inſtructions given to the officers to preſerve themſelves from being ſeen from the ſhore. On the 13th, we eſpied a high land to the eaſtward, which was firſt imagined to be that over the harbour of *Acapulco*; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of *Seguatenejo*, where there is a ſmall harbour, of which we ſhall have occaſion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited ſix days, from the departure of our barge, without any news of her, ſo that we began to be uneaſy for her ſafety; but on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of *February*, ſhe returned; when the officers informed the Commodore, that they had diſcovered the harbour of *Acapulco*, which they eſteemed to bear from us E. S. E. at leaſt fifty leagues diſtant: that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the Iſland that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the *Spaniſh* pilot, nor the *Indian*, could give them any information where they then were; but that, while they were lying upon their oars in ſuſpenſe what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the

the very place they ſought for, they diſcerned a ſmall light near the ſurface of the water, on which they inſtantly plied their paddles, and moving as ſilently as poſſible towards it, they found it to be a fiſhing canoe, which they ſurprized, with three Negroes that belonged to it. It ſeems the Negroes at firſt attempted to jump over-board, and being ſo near the ſhore they could eaſily have ſwam to land; but they were prevented by preſenting a piece at them, on which they readily ſubmitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift againſt the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea: this they did to deceive thoſe who perhaps might be ſent from the town to ſearch after the canoe; for, upon ſeeing ſeveral remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no ſuſpicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmoſt ſtrength in pulling out to ſea, and by dawn of the day had gained ſuch an offing as rendered it impoſſible for them to be ſeen from the coaſt.

Having now gotten the three Negroes in our poſſeſſion, who were not ignorant of the tranſactions at *Acapulco*, we were ſoon ſatisfied about the moſt material points which had long kept us in ſuſpenſe: on examining them we found, that we were indeed diſappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galeon before her arrival at *Acapulco*; but we learnt other circumſtances, which ſtill revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already loſt: for though our Negroe priſoners informed us that the galeon arrived at *Acapulco* on our 9th of *January*, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coaſt; yet they at the ſame time told us, that the galeon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return, and that the Viceroy of *Mexico* had by proclamation fixed her departure from *Acapulco* to the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* This laſt news was moſt joyfully received by us, ſince we had no doubt but ſhe muſt certainly fall into our hands, and it was much more eligible to ſeize her on her return than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the ſpecie for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be prodigiouſly more to be eſteemed by us than the cargo itſelf; great part of which would have periſhed on

our hands, and none of it could have been diſpoſed of by us at ſo advantageous a mart as at *Acapulco*.

Thus we were a ſecond time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting this *Manila* ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider as the moſt deſirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean; but, ſince all our future projects will be in ſome ſort regulated with a view to the poſſeſſion of this celebrated galeon, and ſince the commerce which is carried on by means of theſe veſſels between the city of *Manila* and the port of *Acapulco* is perhaps the moſt valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I ſhall endeavour, in the enſuing chapter, to give as circumſtantial an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in ſome degree intereſted, and as I flatter myſelf that, from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to deſcribe it with more diſtinctneſs than has hitherto been done, at leaſt in our language.

CHAP. X.

An account of the commerce carried on between the city of Manila *on the Iſland of* Luconia, *and the port of* Acapulco *on the coaſt of* Mexico.

ABOUT the end of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the ſearching after new countries and new branches of commerce was the reigning paſſion among ſeveral of the *European* princes; but thoſe who engaged moſt deeply and fortunately in theſe purſuits were the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the firſt of them having diſcovered the immenſe and opulent Continent of *America* and its adjacent Iſlands; whilſt the other, by doubling the Cape of *Good Hope*, had opened to his fleets a paſſage to the ſouthern coaſt of *Aſia*, uſually called the *Eaſt Indies*, and, by his ſettlements in that part of the globe, became poſſeſſed of many of the manufactures and natural productions with which it abounded, and which, for ſome ages, had been the wonder and delight of the more poliſhed and luxurious part of mankind.

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In the mean time, theſe two nations of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who were thus proſecuting the ſame views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehenſive of mutual encroachments. And therefore, to quiet their jealouſies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to purſue the propagation of the Catholic Faith in theſe diſtant countries (they having both of them given diſtinguiſhed marks of their zeal to their mother church, by their butchery of innocent Pagans), Pope *Alexander* VI. granted to the *Spaniſh* Crown the property and dominion of all places, either already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Iſlands of *Azores*, leaving all the unknown countries to the eaſtward of this limit to the induſtry and diſpoſition of the *Portugueſe*; and this boundary being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the weſtward by the agreement of both nations, it was imagined that this regulation would have ſuppreſſed all the ſeeds of future conteſts; for the *Spaniards* preſumed, that the *Portugueſe* would be hereby prevented from meddling with their colonies in *America*; and the *Portugueſe* ſuppoſed that their *Eaſt Indian* ſettlements, and particularly the Spice Iſlands, which they had then newly found out, were for ever ſecured from any attempts of the *Spaniſh* nation.

But it ſeems the infallibility of the Holy Father had, on this occaſion, deſerted him, and, for want of being more converſant in geography, he had not foreſeen that the *Spaniards* by purſuing their diſcoveries to the Weſt, and the *Portugueſe* to the Eaſt, might at laſt meet with each other, and be again embroiled; as it actually happened within a few years afterwards: for *Ferdinand Magellan*, an officer in the King of *Portugal*'s ſervice, having received ſome diſguſt from the court, either by the defalcation of his pay, or by having his parts, as he conceived, too cheaply conſidered, he entered into the ſervice of the King of *Spain*. As he appears to have been a man of ability, he was deſirous of ſignalizing his talents in ſome enterprize, which might prove extremely vexatious to his former maſters, and might teach them to eſtimate his worth from the greatneſs of the miſchief he brought upon them; this being the moſt obvious and natural turn of all fugitives, more eſpecially of thoſe, who, being really men of capacity, have quitted their country by reaſon of the ſmall account that has been made of them.

Magellan,

Magellan, in purſuance of theſe vindictive views, knowing that the *Portugueſe* conſidered their traffic to the Spice Iſlands as their moſt important acquiſition in the Eaſt, reſolved with himſelf to inſtigate the court of *Spain* to an attempt, which, by ſtill purſuing their diſcoveries to the weſtward, would give them a right to interfere both in the property and commerce of thoſe renowned countries; and the King of *Spain* approving of this project, *Magellan*, in the year 1519, ſet ſail from the port of *Seville*, in order to carry this enterprize into execution. He had with him a conſiderable force, conſiſting of five ſhips and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he ſtood for the coaſt of *South America*, and, ranging along ſhore, he at length, towards the end of *October*, 1520, had the good fortune to diſcover thoſe Straits, which have ſince been denominated from him, and which opened him a paſſage into the *South Seas*. This, which was the firſt part of his ſcheme, being thus happily accompliſhed, he, after ſome ſtay on the coaſt of *Peru*, ſet ſail again to the weſtward, with a view of falling in with the Spice Iſlands. In this extenſive run a-croſs the *Pacific* ocean, he firſt diſcovered the *Ladrones* or *Marian* Iſlands; and continuing on his courſe, he at length reached the *Philippine* Iſlands, which are the moſt eaſtern part of *Aſia*, where, venturing on ſhore in an hoſtile manner, and ſkirmiſhing with the *Indians*, he was ſlain.

By the death of *Magellan*, his original project of ſecuring ſome of the Spice Iſlands was defeated; for thoſe who were left in command contented themſelves with ranging through them, and purchaſing ſome ſpices from the natives; after which they returned home round the cape of *Good Hope*, being the firſt ſhips which had ever ſurrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonſtrated, by a palpable experiment, obvious to the groſſeſt and moſt vulgar capacity, the reality of its long-diſputed ſpherical figure.

But though *Spain* did not hereby acquire the property of any of the Spice Iſlands, yet the diſcovery of the *Philippines*, made in this expedition, was thought too conſiderable to be neglected; ſince theſe were not far diſtant from thoſe places which produced ſpices, and were very well ſituated for the *Chineſe* trade, and for the commerce of other parts of *India*. A communication therefore was ſoon eſtabliſhed, and carefully ſupported, between theſe Iſlands and the *Spaniſh* colonies on the coaſt of *Peru*; whence the city of *Manila* (which

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was built on the Iſland of *Luconia*, the chief of the *Philippines*) became in a ſhort time the mart for all *Indian* commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and were annually ſent to the *South Seas*, to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to *Manila* being principally made in ſilver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent, and its trade ſo far increaſed, as to engage the attention of the court of *Spain*, and to be frequently controled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of *Callao* to the city of *Manila*, in which navigation the trade-wind continually favoured them; ſo that, notwithſtanding theſe places were diſtant between three and four thouſand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months; but then the return from *Manila* was extremely troubleſome and tedious, and is ſaid to have ſometimes laſted above a twelve-month; which, if they pretend to ply up within the limits of the trade wind, is not at all to be wondered at. Indeed, though it is aſſerted that, in their firſt voyages, they were ſo imprudent and unſkilful as to attempt this courſe, yet that route was ſoon laid aſide by the advice, as it is ſaid, of a Jeſuit, who perſuaded them to ſteer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then, by the favour of the weſterly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to ſtretch away for the coaſt of *California*. This we know hath been the practice for at leaſt a hundred and ſixty years paſt; as Sir *Thomas Cavendiſh*, in the year 1586, engaged off the South end of *California* a veſſel bound from *Manila* to the *American* coaſt. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to ſhorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the ſtaple of this commerce to and from *Manila* was removed from *Callao* on the coaſt of *Peru*, to the port of *Acapulco* on the coaſt of *Mexico*, where it continues fixed to this time.

Such was the commencement, and ſuch were the early regulations, of this commerce; but its preſent condition being a much more intereſting ſubject, I muſt beg leave to dwell longer on this head, and to be indulged in a more particular narration, beginning with a deſcription of the Iſland of *Luconia*, and of the port and bay of *Manila*.

The Iſland of *Luconia*, though ſituated in the latitude of 15° North, is eſteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and

the water that is found upon it is ſaid to be the beſt in the world; it produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a moſt excellent breed of horſes, ſuppoſed to be carried thither firſt from *Spain*; it is very well ſeated for the *Indian* and *Chineſe* trade; and the bay and port of *Manila*, which lies on its weſtern ſide, is perhaps the moſt remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular baſon, near ten leagues in diameter, great part of it entirely land-locked. On the eaſt ſide of this bay ſtands the city of *Manila*, which is large and populous; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence conſiſting in a ſmall fort, which was almoſt ſurrounded on every ſide by houſes; but they have lately made conſiderable additions to its fortifications, though I have not yet learnt after what manner. The port peculiar to the city is called *Cabite*, and lies near two leagues to the ſouthward; and in this port all the ſhips employed for the *Acapulco* trade are uſually ſtationed. As I have never ſeen but one engraved plan of this bay, and that in an uncommon collection, I have added, in the thirty-third plate, a plan which fell into my hands, and which differs conſiderably from that already publiſhed; but I cannot pretend to decide which of the two is moſt to be relied on.

The city of *Manila* itſelf is in a healthy ſituation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; but as the principal buſineſs of this place is its trade to *Acapulco*, it lies under ſome diſadvantage, from the difficulty there is in getting to ſea to the eaſtward; for the paſſage is among Iſlands and through channels, where the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in marine affairs, waſte much time, and are often in great danger. Theſe inconveniencies will be better apprehended by the reader from the draught of the Iſland of *Luconia*, and of its neighbouring iſles (Plate XXVIth) which was taken from the enemy, and had been newly drawn and corrected but a ſhort time before.

The trade carried on between this place to *China*, and different parts of *India*, is principally for ſuch commodities as are intended to ſupply the kingdoms of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Theſe are, ſpices, all ſorts of *Chineſe* ſilks and manufactures; particularly ſilk ſtockings, of which I have heard that no leſs than fifty thouſand pair were the uſual number ſhipped

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in each cargo; vaſt quantities of *Indian* ſtuffs, as callicoes, and chints, which are much worn in *America*, together with other minuter articles, as goldſmiths work, &c. which is principally wrought at the city of *Manila* itſelf by the *Chineſe*; for it is ſaid there are at leaſt twenty thouſand *Chineſe* who conſtantly reſide there, either as ſervants, manufacturers, or brokers. All theſe different commodities are collected at *Manila*, thence to be tranſported annually in one or more ſhips to the port of *Acapulco*, in the kingdom of *Mexico*.

This trade to *Acapulco* is not laid open to all the inhabitants of *Manila*, but is confined by very particular regulations, ſomewhat analogous to thoſe by which the trade of the regiſter ſhips from *Cadiz* to the *Weſt Indies* is reſtrained. The ſhips employed herein are found by the King of *Spain*, who pays the officers and crew; and the tunnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the ſame ſize: theſe are diſtributed amongſt the Convents at *Manila*, but principally to the Jeſuits, as a donation to ſupport their miſſions for the propagation of the Catholic Faith; and the Convents have thereby a right to embark ſuch a quantity of goods on board the *Manila* ſhip as the tunnage of their bales amounts to; or, if they chuſe not to be concerned in trade themſelves, they have the power of ſelling this privilege to others: nor is it uncommon, when the merchant to whom they ſell their ſhare is unprovided of a ſtock, for the Convents to lend him conſiderable ſums of money on bottomry.

The trade is by the royal edicts limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some *Spaniſh* manuſcripts, I have ſeen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars: but the annual cargo does certainly ſurpaſs this ſum; and, though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet from many compariſons I conclude that the return cannot be much ſhort of three millions of dollars.

As it is ſufficiently obvious that the greateſt ſhare of the treaſure returned from *Acapulco* to *Manila* does not remain in that place, but is again diſperſed into different parts of *India*; and as all *European* nations have generally eſteemed it good policy to keep their *American* ſettlements in an immediate dependance on their mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers; theſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remon-

remonſtrances to be preſented to the court of *Spain*, againſt this *Indian* trade allowed to the kingdom of *Mexico*. It has been urged, that the ſilk manufactures of *Valencia* and other parts of *Spain* are hereby greatly prejudiced, and the linens carried from *Cadiz* much injured in their ſale; ſince the *Chineſe* ſilks, coming almoſt directly to *Acapulco*, can be afforded conſiderably cheaper there than any *European* manufactures of equal goodneſs; and the cotton from the *Coromondel* coaſt make the *European* linens nearly uſeleſs; ſo that the *Manila* trade renders both *Mexico* and *Peru* leſs dependant upon *Spain* for a ſupply of their neceſſities than they ought to be, and exhauſts thoſe countries of a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, the greateſt part of which, were this trade prohibited, would center in *Spain*, either in payment for *Spaniſh* commodities, or in gains to the *Spaniſh* merchants; whereas now the only advantage which ariſes from it is, the enriching the Jeſuits, and a few particular perſons beſides, at the other extremity of the world. Theſe arguments did ſo far influence Don *Joſeph Patinho*, who was formerly prime miniſter, and an enemy to the Jeſuits, that, about the year 1725, he had reſolved to abolith this trade, and to have permitted no *Indian* commodities to be introduced into any of the *Spaniſh* ports in the *Weſt Indies*, except ſuch as were brought thither by the regular ſhips from *Europe*. But the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, and back again, is uſually carried on in one or at moſt two annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from *Manila* about *July*, and arrive at *Acapulco* in the *December*, *January*, or *February* following; and, having there diſpoſed of their effects, return for *Manila* ſome time in *March*, where they generally arrive in *June*; ſo that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year: for this reaſon, though there is often no more than one ſhip freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the ſea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at *Manila* is provided with three or four ſtout ſhips, that in caſe of any accident the trade may not be ſuſpended. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, whoſe name I have not learnt, is deſcribed as little leſs than one of our firſt-rate men of war; and indeed ſhe muſt be of an enormous ſize; as it is known, that when ſhe was employed with other ſhips from the ſame port, to cruiſe for our *China* trade, ſhe had no leſs than twelve hun-

dred men on board. Their other ſhips, though far inferior in bulk to this, yet are ſtout large veſſels, of the burthen of twelve hundred tun and upwards, and uſually carry from three hundred and fifty to ſix hundred hands, paſſengers included, with fifty odd guns. As theſe are all King's ſhips, commiſſioned and paid by him, there is uſually one amongſt the Captains ſtiled General; and he carries the royal ſtandard of *Spain* at the main-top gallant-maſt-head, as we ſhall more particularly obſerve hereafter.

And now, having deſcribed the city and port of *Manila*, and the ſhipping employed by its inhabitants, it is neceſſary to give a more circumſtantial detail of the navigation from thence to *Acapulco*. The ſhip, having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the ſea, generally weighs from the mole of *Cabite* about the middle of *July*, taking the advantage of the weſterly monſoon, which then ſets in. It appears, by the chart already referred to, that the getting through the channel called the *Boccadero*, to the eaſtward, muſt be a troubleſome navigation, and in fact it is ſometimes the end of *Auguſt* before they compleat it. When they have cleared this paſſage, and are diſentangled from the Iſlands, they ſtand to the northward of the eaſt, till they arrive in the latitude of thirty degrees or upwards, where they expect to meet with weſterly winds, before which they ſtretch away for the coaſt of *California*. To give a better idea of the track which they hold in this navigation, I have inſerted, towards the latter end of the third book, the copy of a manuſcript chart that was taken on board one of theſe ſhips, on which I have laid down the particular route of this veſſel, both in her paſſage from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, and from *Acapulco* back again. In this chart (as it was drawn for the uſe of the *Spaniſh* General) there are contained all the diſcoveries the *Manila* ſhips have at any time made in traverſing the vaſt ocean between the *Philippine* Iſlands and the coaſt of *Mexico*; whence it appears how minute and inconſiderable thoſe fragments of land are, which lie diſperſed in that prodigious ſea. It is indeed moſt remarkable, that, by the concurrent teſtimony of all the *Spaniſh* navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out betwixt the *Philippine* Iſlands and the coaſt of *California*; ſo that, from the time the *Manila* ſhip firſt loſes ſight of land, ſhe never lets go her anchor till ſhe arrives on the coaſt of *California*, and very often not till ſhe gets to its ſouthermoſt extre-

extremity. As this voyage is rarely of leſs than ſix months continuance, and the ſhip is deep laden with merchandize and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be ſupplied with a ſtock of freſh water for ſo long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely ſingular, and deſerves a very particular recital.

It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the *Spaniſh* cuſtoms in the *South Seas*, that their water is preſerved on ſhip-board, not in caſks, but in earthen jars, which in ſome ſort reſemble the large oil jars we often ſee in *Europe*. When the *Manila* ſhip firſt puts to ſea, ſhe takes on board a much greater quantity of water than can be ſtowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the ſhrouds and ſtays, ſo as to exhibit at a diſtance a very odd appearance. Though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than caſks, and are liable to no leakage, unleſs they are broken; yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that a ſix, or even a three month ſtore of water, could never be ſtowed in a ſhip ſo loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore, without ſome other ſupply, this navigation could not be performed. A ſupply, indeed, they have; but the reliance upon it ſeems at firſt ſight ſo extremely precarious, that it is wonderful ſuch numbers would riſque the periſhing by the moſt terrible of all deaths, on the expectation of ſo caſual a relief. In ſhort, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40° North, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpoſe they take to ſea with them a great number of mats, which, whenever the rain deſcends, they range ſlopingly againſt the gunwale, from one end of the ſhip to the other, their lower edges reſting on a large ſplit bamboe; whence all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar: and this method of furniſhing themſelves with water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at firſt ſight appear, hath never been known to fail them; but it hath been common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than uſual, to fill all their water jars ſeveral times over.

However, though their diſtreſſes for freſh water are much ſhort of what might be expected in ſo tedious a navigation; yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at ſea, from which they are not exempted.

The principal of theſe is the ſcurvy, which ſometimes rages with extreme violence, and deſtroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their paſſage to *Acapulco* (of which alone I would be here underſtood to ſpeak) is performed with little loſs.

The length of time employed in this paſſage, ſo much beyond what uſually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unſkilfulneſs of the *Spaniſh* ſailors, and to an unneceſſary degree of caution, on pretence of the great riches of the veſſel; for it is ſaid, that they rarely ſet their main-ſail in the night, and often lie-by unneceſſarily. Thus much is certain, that the inſtructions given to their Captains (which I have ſeen) ſeem to have been drawn up by ſuch as were more apprehenſive of too ſtrong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage: for the Captain is particularly ordered to make his paſſage in the latitude of 40 degrees, if poſſible, and to be extremely careful to ſtand no farther to the northward than is abſolutely neceſſary for the getting a weſterly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very abſurd reſtriction; ſince it can ſcarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the weſterly winds are much ſteadier and briſker, than in the latitude of 40 degrees. Indeed the whole conduct of this navigation ſeems liable to very great cenſure: ſince, if inſtead of ſteering E. N. E. into the latitude of 30 degrees, they at firſt ſtood N. E. or even ſtill more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees, in part of which coaſt the trade-winds would greatly aſſiſt them, I doubt not but by this management they might conſiderably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time, which is now allotted for it. This may in ſome meaſure be deduced from their own journals; ſince in thoſe I have ſeen, it appears, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly courſe, it might eaſily be done in leſs than a fortnight. Now, when they were once well advanced to the northward, the weſterly winds would ſoon blow them over to the coaſt of *California*, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarraſments to which they are at preſent ſubjected, only at the expence of rough ſea and a ſtiff gale. This is not merely matter of ſpeculation; for I am credibly informed

formed that, about the year 1721, a *French* ſhip, by purſuing this courſe, ran from the coaſt of *China* to the valley of *Vanderas*, on the coaſt of *Mexico*, in leſs than fifty days; but it was ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of her paſſage, ſhe ſuffered prodigiouſly by the ſcurvy, ſo that ſhe had only four or five of her crew remaining alive when ſhe arrived in *America*.

However, I ſhall deſcant no longer on the probability of performing this voyage in a much ſhorter time, but ſhall content myſelf with reciting the actual occurrences of the preſent navigation. The *Manila* ſhip, having ſtood ſo far to the northward as to meet with a weſterly wind, ſtretches away nearly in the ſame latitude for the coaſt of *California*; and when ſhe has run into the longitude of about 100 degrees from Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, ſhe generally finds a plant floating on the ſea, which, being called *Perra* by the *Spaniards*, is, I preſume, a ſpecies of ſea-leek. On the ſight of this plant, they eſteem themſelves ſufficiently near the *Californian* ſhore, and immediately ſtand to the ſouthward; and they rely ſo much on this circumſtance, that, on the firſt diſcovery of the plant, the whole ſhip's company chaunt a ſolemn *Te Deum*, eſteeming the difficulties and hazards of their paſſage to be now at an end; and they conſtantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within ſight of land. After falling in with theſe SIGNS, as they denominate them, they ſteer to the ſouthward, without endeavouring to approach the coaſt, till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many Iſlands, and ſome ſhoals adjacent to *California*, the extreme caution of the *Spaniſh* navigators renders them very apprehenſive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its ſouthern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the ſake of making Cape *St. Lucas* to aſcertain the reckoning, and alſo to receive intelligence from the *Indian* inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies on the coaſt; and this laſt circumſtance, which is a particular article in the Captain's inſtructions, obliges us to mention the late proceedings of the Jeſuits among the *Californian Indians*.

Since the firſt diſcovery of *California*, there have been various wandering Miſſionaries who have viſited it at different times, though to little purpoſe; but of late years the Jeſuits, encouraged and ſupported by a large donation from the Mar-

quis de *Valero*, a moſt munificent bigot, have fixed themſelves upon the place, and have there eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable miſſion. Their principal ſettlement lies juſt within Cape *St. Lucas*, where they have collected a great number of ſavages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts: nor have their efforts been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their ſettlements with very good ſucceſs, ſo that they already make a conſiderable quantity of wine, which begins to be eſteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of *Mexico*; it reſembling in flavour the inferior ſorts of *Madera*.

The Jeſuits then being thus firmly rooted on *California*, they have already extended their juriſdiction quite acroſs the country from ſea to ſea, and are endeavouring to ſpread their influence farther to the northward; with which view they have made ſeveral expeditions up the gulf between *California* and *Mexico*, in order to diſcover the nature of the adjacent countries, all which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing the intereſt of their ſociety, it is no wonder if ſome ſhare of attention is engaged about the ſecurity of the *Manila* ſhip, in which their Convents at *Manila* are ſo deeply concerned. For this purpoſe there are refreſhments, as fruits, wine, water, *&c.* conſtantly kept in readineſs for her; and there is beſides care taken at Cape *St. Lucas*, to look out for any ſhip of the enemy, which might be cruiſing there to intercept her; this being a ſtation where ſhe is conſtantly expected, and where ſhe has been often waited for and fought with, though generally with little ſucceſs. In conſequence then of the meaſures mutually ſettled between the Jeſuits of *Manila* and their brethren at *California*, the Captain of the galeon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape *St. Lucas*, where the inhabitants are directed, on ſight of the veſſel, to make the proper ſignals with fires. On diſcovering theſe fires, the Captain is to ſend his launch on ſhore with twenty men, well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at *Manila* to the *California* Miſſioners, and are to bring back the refreſhments, which will be prepared for the ſhip, and likewiſe intelligence whether or no there are enemies on the coaſt. If the Captain finds, from the account which is ſent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape *St. Lucas*, and

and thence to Cape *Corientes*, after which he is to coaſt it along for the port of *Acapulco*.

The moſt uſual time of the arrival of the galeon at *Acapulco* is towards the middle of *January*; but this navigation is ſo uncertain, that ſhe ſometimes gets in a month ſooner, and at other times has been detained at ſea above a month longer. The port of *Acapulco* is by much the ſecureſt and fineſt in all the northern part of the *Pacific* Ocean, being, as it were, a baſon ſurrounded by very high mountains; but the town is a moſt wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is ſo pent up by the hills that it has ſcarcely any circulation. *Acapulco* is beſides deſtitute of freſh water, except what is brought from a conſiderable diſtance, and is in all reſpects ſo inconvenient, that, except at the time of the mart, whilſt the *Manila* galeon is in the port, it is almoſt deſerted. To compenſate in ſome meaſure for the ſhortneſs of this deſcription, I have inſerted, in the ſame plate with the bay of *Manila* abovementioned, a plan of this town, and of its port and citadel, in which are likewiſe drawn the new works which were added on their firſt intelligence of the equipment of our ſquadron. As this plan was taken from the *Spaniards*, I cannot anſwer for its accuracy; but having ſeen two or three other *Spaniſh* draughts of the place, I conceive, by comparing them together, that this I have here inſerted is not very diſtant from the truth.

When the galeon arrives in this port, ſhe is generally moored on its weſtern ſide to the two trees marked in the plan, and her cargo is delivered with all poſſible expedition. And now the town of *Acapulco*, from almoſt a ſolitude, is immediately thronged with Merchants from all parts of the kingdom of *Mexico*. The cargo being landed and diſpoſed of, the ſilver and the goods intended for *Manila* are taken on board, together with proviſions and water, and the ſhip prepares to put to ſea with the utmoſt expedition. There is indeed no time to be loſt; for it is an expreſs order to the Captain to be out of the port of *Acapulco* on his return, before the firſt day of *April*, *N. S.*

Having mentioned the goods intended for *Manila*, I muſt obſerve, that the principal return is always made in ſilver, and conſequently the reſt of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, beſides the ſilver, being ſome cochineal and a few ſweetmeats, the pro-

duce of the *American* ſettlements, together with *European* millinery ware for the women at *Manila*, and ſome *Spaniſh* wines, ſuch as tent and ſherry, which are intended for the uſe of their prieſts in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

And this difference in the cargo of the ſhip to and from *Manila* occaſions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping her for theſe two different voyages: for the galeon, when ſhe ſets ſail from *Manila*, being deep laden with variety of bulky goods, ſhe has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tier of guns, but carries them in her hold, till ſhe draws near Cape *St. Lucas*, and is apprehenſive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſhip, that ſhe may be leſs peſtered by the ſtowage of proviſions: but, on her return from *Acapulco*, as her cargo lies in leſs room, her lower tier is (or ought to be) always mounted before ſhe leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a ſupply of ſailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garriſon at *Manila*. Beſides, there being many merchants who take their paſſage to *Manila* on board the galeon, her whole number of hands on her return is uſually little ſhort of ſix hundred, all which are eaſily provided for, by reaſon of the ſmall ſtowage neceſſary for the ſilver.

The galeon being thus fitted in order to her return, the Captain, on leaving the port of *Acapulco*, ſteers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and then continues on that parallel, till he gets ſight of the Iſland of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*. In this run the Captain is particularly directed to be careful of the ſhoals of *St. Bartholomew*, and of the Iſland of *Gaſpatico*. He is alſo told in his inſtructions, that, to prevent his paſſing the *Ladrones* in the dark, there are orders given that, through all the month of *June*, fires ſhall be lighted every night on the higheſt part of *Guam* and *Rota*, and kept in till the morning.

At *Guam* there is a ſmall *Spaniſh* garriſon (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purpoſely intended to ſecure that place for the refreſhment of the galeon, and to yield her all the aſſiſtance in their power. However, the danger of the road at *Guam* is ſo great, that, though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet ſhe rarely ſtays above a day or two; but, getting her wateer and refreſhments on board as ſoon as poſſible, ſhe ſteers away directly for

Cape

Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*. Here the Captain is again ordered to look out for ſignals; and he is told that centinels will be poſted, not only on that Cape, but likewiſe in *Catanduanas*, *Butuſan*, *Berriborongo*, and on the Iſland of *Batan*. Theſe centinels are inſtructed to make a fire when they diſcover the ſhip, which the Captain is carefully to obſerve; for if, after this firſt fire is extinguiſhed, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coaſt; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to ſpeak with the centinel on ſhore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the ſtation they cruiſe in; purſuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain ſome ſecure port amongſt thoſe Iſlands, without coming in ſight of the enemy; and in caſe he ſhould be diſcovered when in port, and ſhould be apprehenſive of an attack, he muſt land his treaſure, and muſt take ſome of his artillery on ſhore for its defence, not neglecting to ſend frequent and particular accounts to the city of *Manila* of all that paſſes. But if, after the firſt fire on ſhore, the Captain obſerves that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to fear; and he is to purſue his courſe without interruption, making the beſt of his way to the port of *Cabite*, which is the port to the city of *Manila*, and the conſtant ſtation for all ſhips employed in this commerce to *Acapulco*.

CHAP. XI.

Our cruiſe off the port of Acapulco, *for the* Manila *ſhip.*

I HAVE already mentioned, in the ninth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of *Acapulco*, where ſhe had ſurprized three Negro fiſhermen, gave us inexpreſſible ſatisfaction; as we learnt from our priſoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to ſea, and that her departure was fixed by an edict of the Viceroy of *Mexico*, to the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* that is, to the 3d of *March*, according to our reckoning.

What related to this *Manila* ſhip being the matter to which we were moſt attentive, it was neceſſarily the firſt article of our examination; but, having ſatisfied ourſelves upon this head, we then indulged our curioſity in enquiring after other news; when the priſoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at *Acapulco*, of our having plundered and burnt the town of *Paita*; and that, on this occaſion, the Governor of *Acapulco* had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken ſeveral precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour: that, in particular, he had planted a guard on the Iſland which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge; ſo that, had the barge ſucceeded in her firſt attempt, or had ſhe arrived at the port the ſecond time two days ſooner, ſhe could ſcarcely have avoided been ſeized on; or, if ſhe had eſcaped, it muſt have been with the loſs of the greateſt part of her crew, as ſhe would have been under the fire of the guard before ſhe had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumſtance that gave us much pleaſure, ſince it ſeemed to demonſtrate not only that the enemy had not as yet diſcovered us, but likewiſe that they had now no farther apprehenſions of our viſiting their coaſt. Indeed the priſoners aſſured us, that they had no knowledge of our being in thoſe ſeas, and that they had therefore flattered themſelves that, in the long interval from our taking of *Paita*, we had ſteered another courſe: But we did not conſider the opinion of theſe Negro priſoners as ſo authentic a proof of our being hitherto concealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth; for this, being the action of the Governor, was of all arguments the moſt convincing, as he might be ſuppoſed to have intelligence, with which the reſt of the inhabitants were unacquainted.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiſcovered, and that the day was fixed for the departure of the galeon from *Acapulco*; we made all neceſſary preparations, and waited with the utmoſt impatience for the important moment. As it was the 19th of *February* when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, and the galeon was not to ſail till the 3d of *March*; the Commodore reſolved to continue the greateſt part of the intermediate time on his preſent ſtation,

ſtation, to the weſtward of *Acapulco*, conceiving that in this ſituation there would be leſs danger of his being ſeen from the ſhore, which was the only circumſtance that could deprive us of the immenſe treaſure on which we had at preſent ſo eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval, we were employed in ſcrubbing and cleanſing our ſhips bottoms, in bringing them into their moſt advantageous trim, and regulating the orders, ſignals, and poſitions, to be obſerved, when we ſhould arrive off *Acapulco*, and the time appointed for the departure of the galeon ſhould draw nigh.

It was on the firſt of *March* we made the high lands, uſually called the paps, over *Acapulco*, and got with all poſſible expedition into the ſituation preſcribed by the Commodore's orders. The diſtribution of our ſquadron on this occaſion, both for the intercepting the galeon, and for avoiding a diſcovery from the ſhore, was ſo very judicious, that it well merits to be diſtinctly deſcribed. The order of it was thus: the *Centurion* brought the paps over the harbour to bear N. N. E. at fifteen leagues diſtance, which was a ſufficient offing to prevent our being ſeen by the enemy. To the weſtward of the *Centurion* there was ſtationed the *Carmelo*, and to the eaſtward the *Tryal's* prize, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Carmin*. Theſe were all ranged in a circular line, and each ſhip was three leagues diſtant from the next; ſo that the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin*, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other; And as the galeon could, without doubt, be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtance from either extremity, the whole ſweep of our ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was at leaſt twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were ſo connected by our ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line. To render this diſpoſition ſtill more compleat, and to prevent even the poſſibility of the galeon's eſcaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the *Centurion* and the *Glouceſter* were both manned and ſent in ſhore, and commanded to lie all day at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, they could not poſſibly be diſcovered; but in the night they were directed to ſtand nearer to the harbour's month, and, as the light of the morning approached, to come back again to their day-poſts. When the cutters ſhould firſt diſcern the *Manila* ſhip, one of

them was to return to the ſquadron, and to make a ſignal, whether the galeon ſtood to the eaſtward or the weſtward; whilſt the other was to follow the galeon at a diſtance, and, if it grew dark, to direct the ſquadron in their chace, by ſhewing falſe fires. The particular ſituation of each ſhip and of the cutters, and the bearings from each other, which they were to obſerve in order to keep their ſtation, will be better underſtood by the delineation exhibited in the XXVIIth plate; a draught of which was delivered to each of the Commanders at the ſame time with their orders.

Beſides the care we had taken to prevent the galeon from paſſing by us unobſerved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her; for, conſidering the thinneſs of our crews, and the vaunting accounts given by the *Spaniards* of her ſize, her guns, and her ſtrength, this was a conſideration not to be neglected: as we ſuppoſed that none of our ſhips but the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter* were capable of lying along ſide of her, we took on board the *Centurion* all the hands belonging to the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, except what was juſt ſufficient to navigate thoſe ſhips; and Captain *Saunders* was ordered to ſend from the *Tryal's* prize ten *Engliſhmen*, and as many Negroes, to reinforce the crew of the *Glouceſter*. At the ſame time, for the encouragement of our Negroes, of which we had a conſiderable number on board, we promiſed them, that on their good behaviour they ſhould have their freedom. As they had been almoſt every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of ſervice to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the kind uſage they had met with amongſt us, they ſeemed diſpoſed to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their power, whenever we ſhould have occaſion for them.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected with the utmoſt impatience the often-mentioned 3d of *March*, the day fixed for her departure. No ſooner did that day dawn, than we were all of us moſt eagerly engaged in looking out towards *Acapulco*, from whence neither the caſual duties on board nor the calls of hunger could eaſily divert our eyes; and we were ſo ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an aſſurance of her coming out of port, that ſome or other amongſt

amongſt us were conſtantly imagining that they diſcovered one of our cutters returning with a ſignal; but, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over without any news of the galeon; however, we did not yet deſpair, but were all heartily diſpoſed to flatter ourſelves that ſome unforeſeen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and ſuggeſtions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the Viceroy for her ſailing was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of *Mexico*. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of *March* was *Sunday*, the beginning of Paſſion-week, which is obſerved by the Papiſts with great ſtrictneſs, a total ceſſation from all kinds of labour, ſo that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehenſions for ſome time, and diſpoſed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. On the *Friday* in this week our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galeon was ſtill in port; for that ſhe could not poſſibly have come out but they muſt have ſeen her. The *Monday* morning following, that is, on the 15th of *March*, the cutters were again diſpatched to their old ſtation, and our hopes were once more indulged in as ſanguine preſſeſſions as before; but in a week's time our eagerneſs was greatly abated, and a general dejection and deſpondency took place in its room. It is true, there were ſome few amongſt us who ſtill kept up their ſpirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, that the diſappointment we had hitherto met with had only been occaſioned by a caſual delay of the galeon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total ſuſpenſion of her departure for the whole ſeaſon; but theſe ſpeculations were not adopted by the generality of our people; for they were perſuaded, that the enemy had, by ſome accident, diſcovered our being upon the coaſt, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galeon till the next year: and indeed this perſuaſion was but too well founded; for we afterwards learnt that our barge, when ſent on the diſcovery of the port of *Acapulco*, had been ſeen from the ſhore; and that this circumſtance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coaſt) was to them a ſufficient proof of the

neighbourhood of our ſquadron; on which they ſtopped the galeon till the ſucceeding year.

The Commodore himſelf, though he declared not his opinion, was yet in his own thoughts apprehenſive that we were diſcovered, and that the departurture of the galeon was put off; and he had, in conſequence of this opinion, formed a plan for poſſeſſing himſelf of *Acapulco*; becauſe he had no doubt but the treaſure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders fer diſpatching of the galeon were countermanded. Indeed the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt; ſince, beſides the garriſon and the crew of the galeon, there were in it at leaſt a thouſand men well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treaſure, when it was brought down from the city of *Mexico*; for the roads thereabouts are ſo much infeſted either by independent *Indians* or fugitives, that the *Spaniards* never truſt the ſilver without an armed force to protect it. Beſides, had the ſtrength of the place been leſs conſiderable, and ſuch as might not have appeared ſuperior to the efforts of our ſquadron, yet a declared attack would have prevented us receiving any advantages from its ſucceſs; for upon the firſt diſcovery of our ſquadron, all the treaſure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours would have been out of our reach; ſo that our conqueſt would have been only a deſolate town, where we ſhould have found nothing that could in the leaſt have countervailed the fatigue and hazard of the undertaking.

For theſe reaſons, the ſurprizal of the place was the only method that could at all anſwer our purpoſe; and therefore the manner in which Mr. *Anſon* propoſed to conduct this enterprize was, by ſetting ſail with the ſquadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night. As there is no danger on that coaſt, he would have ſtood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and perhaps might have entered, before the *Spaniards* were acquainted with his deſigns: as ſoon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have puſhed two hundred of his men on ſhore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort marked (C) in the plan mentioned in the preceding chapter; whilſt he, the Commodore, with his ſhips, was employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. And theſe different operations, which would have been executed

ecuted with great regularity, could hardly have failed of ſucceeding againſt an enemy, who would have been prevented by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and by the want of day-light, from concerting any meaſures for their defence; ſo that it was extremely probable that we ſhould have carried the fort by ſtorm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, muſt have been ſoon abandoned; after which, the town, and its inhabitants, and all the treaſure, muſt neceſſarily have fallen into our hands; for the place is ſo cooped up with mountains, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape out of it but by the great road, marked (H. H.) in the plan, which paſſes under the fort. This was the project which the Commodore had thus far ſettled generally in his thoughts; but when he began to enquire into ſuch circumſtances as were neceſſary to be conſidered in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being inſuperable, occaſioned the enterprize to be laid aſide; as, on examining the priſoners about the winds which prevail near the ſhore, he learnt (and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of our cutters) that nearer in ſhore there was always a dead calm for the greateſt part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale ſprung up, it conſtantly blew off the land; ſo that the ſetting ſail from our preſent ſtation in the evening, and arriving at *Acapulco* before day-light, was impoſſible.

This ſcheme, as hath been ſaid, was formed by the Commodore, upon a ſuppoſition that the galeon was detained till the next year; but, as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a poſſibility that ſhe might ſtill put to ſea in a ſhort time, the Commodore thought it prudent to continue cruiſing on his preſent ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his ſtores of wood and water, and to the convenient ſeaſon for his future paſſage to *China*, would give him leave: and therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before *Acapulco* till the 23d of *March*, the ſquadron did not change its poſition till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in ſome pain for them, apprehending they might have ſuffered either from the enemy or the weather; but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we diſcovered them, though at a great diſtance, and to the leeward of the ſquadron. We bore down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders,

orders, they had left their ſtation the day before, without having ſeen any thing of the galeon; and we found, that the reaſon of their being ſo far to the leeward of us was a ſtrong current, which had driven the whole ſquadron to windward.

And here it is neceſſary to mention, that, by information which was afterwards received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruiſe was a very prudent meaſure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of ſeizing the treaſure on which we had ſo long fixed our thoughts; for, after the embargo was laid on the galeon, as is before mentioned, the perſons principally intereſted in the cargo diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to *Mexico*, to beg that ſhe might ſtill be permitted to depart: it ſeems they knew, by the accounts ſent from *Paita*, that we had not more than three hundred men in all, whence they inſiſted that there was nothing to be feared; as the galeon, carrying above twice as many hands as our whole ſquadron, would be greatly an overmatch for us. And though the Viceroy was inflexible, yet, on the account of their repreſentation, ſhe was kept ready for the ſea near three weeks after the firſt order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ſhips being joined, the Commodore made a ſignal to ſpeak with their commanders; and upon inquiry into the ſtock of freſh water remaining on board the ſquadron, it was found to be ſo very ſlender, that we were under a neceſſity of quitting our ſtation to procure a freſh ſupply. Conſulting what place was the propereſt for this purpoſe, it was agreed that the harbour of *Seguataneio*, or *Chequetan*, being the neareſt, was, on that account, the moſt eligible; ſo that it was immediately reſolved to make the beſt of our way thither; but that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps, from certain intelligence of our being employed at *Chequetan*, might venture to ſlip out to ſea, our cutter, under the command of Mr. *Hughes*, the Lieutenant of the *Tryal's* prize, was ordered to cruize off the port of *Acapulco* for twenty-four days; that, if the galeon ſhould ſet ſail in that interval, we might be ſpeedily informed of it. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, we endeavoured to ply to the weſtward, to gain our intended port; but were often interrupted in our progreſs by calms and adverſe currents. At theſe intervals

we

we employed ourſelves in taking out the moſt valuable part of the cargoes of the *Carmelo* and *Carmin* prizes, which two ſhips we intended to deſtroy as ſoon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the 1ſt of *April* we were ſo far advanced towards *Seguataneio*, that we thought it expedient to ſend out two boats, that they might range along the coaſt, to diſcover the watering place; they were gone ſome days, and our water being now very ſhort, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily ſupplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to ſalt proviſions, we muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate. Indeed our preſent circumſtances were ſufficiently alarming, and gave the moſt conſiderate amongſt us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet found a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our caſks, and other accidents, we had not ten days water on board the whole ſquadron; ſo that, from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coaſt, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers (the only guides we had to truſt to), we were apprehenſive of being ſoon expoſed to a calamity, the moſt terrible of any that occurs in the long diſheartening catalogue of the diſtreſſes of a ſeafaring life.

But theſe gloomy ſuggeſtions were at length happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of *April*, having, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of the rocks of *Seguataneio*, met with a place fit for our purpoſe; and which, by the deſcription they gave of it, appeared to be the port of *Chequetan*, mentioned by *Dampier*. The ſucceſs of our boats was highly agreeable to us; and they were ordered out again the next day, to ſound the harbour and its entrance, which they had repreſented as very narrow. At their return, they reported the place to be free from any danger; ſo that on the 7th we ſtood for it, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom. The *Glouceſter* caſt anchor at the ſame time with us; but the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin* having fallen to the leeward, the *Tryal's* prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them up, which in two or three days ſhe effected.

Thus, after a four month's continuance at ſea from the leaving of *Quibo*, and having but ſix days water on board, we arrived in the harbour of *Chequetan*; the deſcription of which,

which, and of the adjacent coaſt, ſhall be the buſineſs of the chapter.

CHAP. XII.

Deſcription of the harbour of Chequetan, *and of the adjacent coaſt and country.*

THE harbour of *Chequetan*, which we here propoſe to deſcribe, lies in the latitude of 17°: 36′ North, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of *Acapulco*. It is eaſy to be diſcovered by any ſhip that will keep well in with the land, eſpecially by ſuch as range down the coaſt from *Acapulco*, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of ſand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of *Acapulco* to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks ſo violently, that with our boats it would be impoſſible to land on any part of it; but yet the ground is ſo clean, that, during the fair ſeaſon, ſhips may anchor in great ſafety, at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of ſome ſmall eminencies there are ſeveral look-out towers; ſo that the face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect; for the cultivated part, which is the part here deſcribed, extends ſome leagues back from the ſhore, where it ſeems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance on either ſide of *Acapulco*. It is a moſt remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, containing, in appearance, the moſt populous and beſt planted diſtrict of the whole coaſt, there ſhould be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fiſhing, coaſting, or for pleaſure. This cannot be imputed to the diſficulty of landing; becauſe, in many parts of *Africa* and *Aſia*, where the ſame inconvenience occurs, the inhabitants have provided againſt it by veſſels of a peculiar fabric. I therefore conceive that the Government, to prevent ſmuggling, have prohibited the uſe of all kinds of ſmall craft in that diſtrict.

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The beach here deſcribed is the ſureſt guide to thoſe who are deſirous of finding the harbour of *Chequetan*; for five miles to the weſtward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at firſt makes like an Iſland, and is in ſhape not very unlike the hill of *Petaplan*, hereafter mentioned, though much ſmaller. Three miles to the weſtward of this hummock, is a white rock, near the ſhore, which cannot eaſily be paſſed by unobſerved; It is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The weſt point of this bay is the hill of *Petaplan*, which is repreſented in the XXVIIIth plate, with the view of the Iſlands of *Quicara* and *Quibo*. This hill of *Petaplan*, like the forementioned hummock, may be at firſt miſtaken for an Iſland, though it be, in reality, a peninſula, which is joined to the Continent by a low and narrow iſthmus, covered over with ſhrubs and ſmall trees. The bay of *Seguatancio* extends from this hill a great way to the weſtward; and it appears by a plan of the bay of *Petaplan*, which is part of that of *Seguatancio*, and is to be ſeen in the XXIXth plate, that at a ſmall diſtance from the hill, and oppoſite to the entrance of the bay, there is an aſſemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of theſe rocks are high and large, and, together with ſeveral ſmaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to reſemble the form of a croſs, and are called the *White Friars*. Theſe rocks, as appears by the plan, bear W. by N. from *Petaplan*; and about ſeven miles to the weſtward of them lies the harbour of *Chequetan*, which is ſtill more minutely diſtinguiſhed by a large and ſingle rock that riſes out of the water a mile and half diſtant from the entrance, and bears S. ¼ W, from the middle of it. The appearance of this entrance is very accurately repreſented in the XXXth plate, where *(e)* is the Eaſt point of the harbour, and *(d)* the Weſt, the forementioned rock being marked *(f)*. In the ſame view *(a)* is a large ſandy bay, but where there is no landing; *(b)* are four remarkable white rocks; and from the point *(c)* there runs another bay to the weſtward. To theſe directions I muſt add, that the coaſt is no ways to be dreaded between the middle of *October* and the beginning of *May*, nor is there then any danger from the winds; though in the remaining part of the year there are frequent and violent tornadoes

tornadoes, heavy rains and hard gales in all directions of the compaſs.

Such are the infallible marks by which the harbour of *Chequetan* may be known to thoſe who keep well in with the land: but as to thoſe who keep at any conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, there is no other method to be taken for finding the place, than that of making it by the latitude; for there are ſo many ranges of mountains riſing one upon the back of another within land, that no drawings of the appearance of the coaſt can be at all depended on when off at ſea; every little change of diſtance or variation of poſition bringing new mountains in view, and producing an infinity of different proſpects, which render all attempts of delineating the aſpect of the coaſt impoſſible.

Having diſcuſſed the methods of diſcovering the harbour of *Chequetan*, it is time to inſert the plan of the harbour itſelf: this is repreſented in the XXXIſt plate; where it may be ſeen, that its entrance is but about half a mile broad; the two points which form it, and which are faced with rocks that are almoſt perpendicular, bear from each other S. E. and N. W. The harbour is invironed on all ſides, except to the weſtward, with high mountains overſpread with trees. The paſſage into it is very ſafe on either ſide of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eaſtward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with ſtones, but within it is a ſoft mud; and it muſt be remembered, that in coming to an anchor a good allowance ſhould be made for a large ſwell, which frequently cauſes a great ſend of the ſea; as likewiſe, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which we obſerved to be about five feet, and that it ſet nearly E. and W.

The watering-place is ſituated in that part of the harbour where freſh water is marked on the plan. This, during the whole time of our ſtay, had the appearance of a large ſtanding lake, without any viſible outlet into the ſea, from which it is ſeparated by a part of the ſtrand. The origin of this lake is a ſpring, that bubbles out of the ground near half a mile within the country. We found the water a little brackiſh, but more conſiderably ſo towards the ſea-ſide; for the nearer we advanced towards the ſpring-head, the ſofter and freſher it proved. This laid us under a neceſſity of filling all our caſks from the furtheſt part of the lake, and occaſioned

occaſioned us ſome trouble; and would have proved ſtill more difficult, had it not been for our particular management, which, on account of the conveniency of it, deſerves to be recommended to all who ſhall hereafter water at this place. Our method conſiſted in making uſe of canoes which drew but little water; for, loading them with a number of ſmall caſks, they eaſily got up the lake to the ſpring-head; and the ſmall caſks, being there filled, were in the ſame manner tranſported back again to the beach, where ſome of our hands always attended to ſtart them into their other caſks of a larger ſize.

Though this lake, during our continuance there, appeared to have no outlet into the ſea, yet there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that in the rainy ſeaſon it overflows the ſtrand, and communicates with the ocean; for *Dampier*, who was formerly here, ſpeaks of it as a large river. Indeed it is neceſſary that a vaſt body of water ſhould be amaſſed before the lake can riſe high enough to overflow the ſtrand; ſince the neighbouring lands are ſo low, that great part of them muſt be covered with water, before it can run out over the beach.

As the country hereabouts, particularly the tract of coaſt contiguous to *Acapulco*, appeared to be well peopled, and cultivated; we hoped to have eaſily procured from thence ſome freſh proviſions and other refreſhments, which we now ſtood greatly in need of. To facilitate theſe views, the Commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome town or village, where they were to attempt to ſet on foot a correſpondence with the inhabitants; for when we had once begun this intercourſe, we doubted not but that, by proper preſents, we ſhould allure them to bring down to us whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power; as our prizes abounded in various kinds of coarſe merchandiſe, which were of little conſequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable. Our people were directed on this occaſion to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, and to make as little oſtentation of hoſtility as poſſible; for we were ſenſible, we could find no wealth in theſe parts worth our notice; and what neceſſaries we really wanted, we expected would be better and more abundantly ſupplied by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour

endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual; for towards evening, the party which had been ordered to march into the country returned greatly fatigued by their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a barren track, where they often ſaw the freſh dung of horſes or mules. When they had got near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the Eaſt and the other to the Weſt. On deliberation concerning the courſe they ſhould take, it was agreed to continue their march along the eaſtern road: this, when they had followed it for ſome time, led them at once into a large plain or ſavannah; on one ſide of which they diſcovered a centinel on horſeback with a piſtol in his hand. It was ſuppoſed that when they firſt ſaw him he was aſleep; but his horſe ſtartled at the glittering of their arms, and turning round ſuddenly ran off with his maſter, who, though he was very near being unhorſed in the ſurprize, yet recovered his ſeat, and eſcaped with the loſs only of his hat and his piſtol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people purſued him, in hopes of diſcovering the village or habitation, which he would retreat to; but, as he had the advantage of being on horſeback, they ſoon loſt ſight of him. Notwithſtanding his eſcape, they were unwilling to come back without making ſome diſcovery, and therefore ſtill followed the track they were in; till, the heat of the day increaſing, and finding no water to quench their thirſt, they were firſt obliged to halt, and then reſolved to return; for as they ſaw no ſigns of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reaſon to believe that there was any village or ſettlement near them. However, to leave no means untried of procuring ſome intercourſe with the people, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations, written in *Spaniſh*, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour to traffic with us, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any proviſions they ſhould bring us. This was doubtleſs a very prudent meaſure; yet it produced no effect; for we never ſaw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of *Chequetan*. Indeed it were to have been wiſhed

wiſhed that our men, upon the diviſion of the path, had taken the weſtern road inſtead of the eaſtern; for then they would ſoon have been led to a village or town, which ſome *Spaniſh* manuſcripts mention as being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which we afterwards learnt was not above two miles from that turning.

And on this occaſion I cannot avoid mentioning another adventure, which happened to ſome of our people in the bay of *Petaplan*, as it may greatly aſſiſt the reader in forming a juſt idea of the temper and reſolution of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at *Chequetan*, Lieutenant *Brett* was ſent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coaſt to the eaſtward, particularly to make obſervations on the bay and watering-place of *Petaplan*, a plan of which has been already referred to in this chapter. As Mr. *Brett* with one of the boats was preparing to go on ſhore towards the hill of *Petaplan*, he accidentally looking acroſs the bay, perceived on the oppoſite ſtrand, three ſmall ſquadrons of horſe parading upon the beach, and ſeeming to advance towards the place where he propoſed to land. On ſight of this, he immediately put off the boat, though he had but ſixteen men with him, and ſtood over the bay towards them: and he ſoon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very ſightly horſes, and were armed with carbines and lances. On ſeeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and ſeemed reſolved to diſpute his landing, firing ſeveral diſtant ſhot at him as he drew near; till at laſt, the boat being arrived within a reaſonable diſtance of the moſt advanced ſquadron, Mr. *Brett* ordered his people to fire, upon which this reſolute cavalry inſtantly ran with great confuſion into the wood, through a ſmall opening which is delineated on the plan. In this precipitate flight, one of their horſes fell down and threw his rider; but, whether he was wounded or not, we could not diſcern, for both man and horſe ſoon got up again, and followed the reſt into the wood. In the mean time the other two ſquadrons were calm ſpectators of the rout of their comrades; for they were drawn up at a great diſtance behind, out of the reach of our ſhot, having halted on our firſt approach, and never advancing a ſtep afterwards. It was doubtleſs fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with ſo little prudence, and exerted ſo little ſpirit; ſince, had they concealed

cealed themſelves till our men had landed, it is ſcarcely poſſible but all the boat's crew muſt have fallen into their hands; as the *Spaniards* were not much ſhort of two hundred, and the whole number with Mr. *Brett* only amounted to ſixteen. However, the diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a force collected in this bay of *Petaplan* obliged us conſtantly to keep a boat or two before it; for we were apprehenſive that the cutter, which we had left to cruiſe off *Acapulco*, might, on her return, be ſurprized by the enemy, if ſhe did not receive timely information of her danger. But now to proceed with the account of the harbour of *Chequetan*.

After our unſucceſsful attempt to engage the people of the country to furniſh us with the neceſſaries we wanted, we deſiſted from any more endeavours of the ſame nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourſelves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fiſh here in tolerable quantities, eſpecially when the ſmoothneſs of the water permitted us to hale the ſeyne. Amongſt the reſt, we got cavallies, breams, mullets, ſoles, fiddle-fiſh, ſea-eggs, and lobſters: and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fiſh called the Torpedo, or numbing fiſh, which is in ſhape very like the fiddle-fiſh, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular ſpot, about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, near the center of its back. Perhaps its figure will be better underſtood, when I ſay it is a flat fiſh, much reſembling the thorn-back. This fiſh, the Torpedo, is indeed of a moſt ſingular nature, productive of the ſtrangeſt effects on the human body; for whoever handles it, or happens even to ſet his foot upon it, is preſently ſeized with a numbneſs all over him: but which is more diſtinguiſhable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The ſame effect too will be in ſome degree produced, by touching the fiſh with any thing held in the hand; ſince I myſelf had a conſiderable degree of numbneſs conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane, which I reſted on the body of the fiſh for a ſhort time only; and I make no doubt but I ſhould have been much more ſenſibly affected, had not the fiſh been near expiring when I made the experiment: as it is obſervable that this influence acts with moſt vigour upon the fiſh's being firſt taken out of the water, and entirely ceaſes as ſoon as it is dead, ſo that it may be then handled, or even eaten, without any inconvenience.

nience. I ſhall only add, that the numbneſs of my arm upon this occaſion did not go off on a ſudden, as the accounts of ſome naturaliſts gave me reaſon to expect, but diminiſhed gradually, ſo that I had ſome ſenſation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fiſh we met with here, I muſt add, that, though turtle now grew ſcarce, and we found none in this harbour of *Chequetan*, yet our boats, which were ſtationed off *Petaplan*, often ſupplied us therewith; and though this was a food that we had been long as it were confined to (ſince it was the only freſh proviſions which we had taſted during near ſix months), yet we were far from being cloyed with it, or from finding that the reliſh we had for it at all diminiſhed.

The animals we met with on ſhore were principally guanos, with which the country abounds, and which are by ſome reckoned delicious food. We ſaw no beaſt of prey here, except we ſhould eſteem that amphibious animal the alligator as ſuch, ſeveral of which our people diſcovered, but none of them very large. However, we were ſatisfied that there were great numbers of tigers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight; for we every morning found the beach near the watering-place imprinted very thick with their footſteps; but we never apprehended any miſchief from them, ſince they are by no means ſo fierce as the *Aſiatic* or *African* tiger, and are rarely, if ever, known to attack mankind. Birds were here in ſufficient plenty: for we had abundance of pheaſants of different kinds, ſome of them of an uncommon ſize, but they were all very dry and taſteleſs eating. And beſides theſe, we had a variety of ſmaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreſhments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the beſt kinds: there were, it is true, a few buſhes ſcattered about the woods, which ſupplied us with limes, but we ſcarcely could procure enough for our preſent uſe: and theſe, with a ſmall plum, of an agreeable acid, called in *Jamaica* the *Hog-Plum*, together with another fruit called a *Papha*, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other uſeful vegetable here worth mentioning, except brook lime: this indeed grew in great quantities near the freſh-water banks; and, as it was eſteemed an antiſcorbutic, we fed upon

it frequently, though its extreme bitterneſs made it very unpalatable.

Theſe are the articles moſt worthy of notice in this harbour of *Chequetan*. I ſhall only mention a particular of the coaſt lying to the weſtward of it, that to the eaſtward having been already deſcribed. As Mr. *Anſon* was always attentive to whatever might be of conſequence to thoſe who might frequent theſe ſeas hereafter; and, as we had obſerved that there was a double land to the weſtward of *Chequetan*, which ſtretched out to a conſiderable diſtance, with a kind of opening that appeared not unlike the inlet to ſome harbour, the Commodore, ſoon after we came to an anchor, ſent a boat to diſcover it more accurately; and it was found, on a nearer examination, that the two hills, which formed the double land, were joined together by a valley, and that there was no harbour nor ſhelter between them.

By all that hath been ſaid, it will appear, that the conveniencies of this port of *Chequetan*, particularly in the articles of refreſhment, are not altogether ſuch as might be deſired: but yet, upon the whole, it muſt be owned to be a place of conſiderable conſequence, and that the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruizers. For, except *Acapulco*, which is in the hands of the enemy, it is the only ſecure harbour in a vaſt extent of coaſt. It lies at a proper diſtance from *Acapulco* for the convenience of ſuch ſhips as may have any deſigns on the *Manila* galeon; and it is a place where wood and water may be procured with great ſecurity, in deſpite of the efforts of the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtrict: for there is but one narrow path which leads through the woods into the country, and this is eaſily to be ſecured, by a very ſmall party, againſt all the ſtrength the *Spaniards* in that neighbourhood can muſter. After this account of *Chequetan*, and the coaſt contiguous to it, we now return to the recital of our own proceedings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Our proceedings at Chequetan *and on the adjacent coaſt, till our ſetting ſail for* Aſia.

THE next morning after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of *Chequetan*, we ſent about ninety of our men well armed on ſhore; forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we completed the unloading of the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, which we had begun at ſea; that is to ſay, we took out of them the indico, cacao, and cochineal, with ſome iron for ballaſt, which were all the goods we intended to preſerve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here too it was agreed, after a mature conſultation, to deſtroy the *Tryal's* prize, as well as the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, whoſe fate had been before reſolved on. Indeed the *Tryal's* prize was in good repair, and fit for the ſea; but, as the whole numbers on board our ſquadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth rate man of war, we found it was impoſſible to divide them into three ſhips, without rendering each of thoſe ſhips incapable of navigating in ſafety through the tempeſtuous weather we had reaſon to expect on the coaſt of *China*, where we ſuppoſed we ſhould arrive about the time of the change of the monſoons. Theſe conſiderations determined the Commodore to deſtroy the *Tryal's* prize, and to reinforce the *Glouceſter* with the beſt part of her crew: and, in conſequence of this reſolve, all the ſtores on board the *Tryal's* prize were removed into the other ſhips, and the prize herſelf, with the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, were prepared for ſcuttling with all the expedition we were maſters of; but the great difficulties we were under in providing a ſtore of water (which have been already touched on), together with the neceſſary repairs of our rigging, and other unavoidable occupations, took us up ſo much time, and found us ſuch unexpected employment, that it was near the end of *April* before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our ſtay here, there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in *England* of our ſafety, which for ſome time they had deſpaired of, and were then in doubt about, I ſhall beg leave particularly to recite. I have obſerved, in the preceding chapter, that from this harbour of *Chequetan* there was but one path-way, which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and were thence convinced that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it paſſed by the ſpring-head, and was the only avenue by which the *Spaniards* could approach us, we, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring-head, felled ſeveral large trees, and laid them one upon the other acroſs the path; and at this barricadoe we conſtantly kept a guard. We beſides ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready; and, in caſe of any alarm, to march inſtantly to this poſt: and though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being diſturbed by any ſudden attack of the enemy's horſe, yet it anſwered another purpoſe, which was in itſelf not leſs important; this was, to hinder our own people from ſtraggling ſingly into the country, where we had reaſon to believe they would be ſurpriſed by the *Spaniards*, who would doubtleſs be extremely ſolicitous to pick up ſome of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future deſigns. To avoid this inconvenience, the ſtricteſt orders were given to the centinels, to let no perſon whatever paſs beyond their poſt. But, notwithſtanding this precaution, we miſſed one *Lewis Leger*, who was the Commodore's cook: as he was a *Frenchman*, and was ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, it was at firſt imagined that he had deſerted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded ſurmiſe; for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by ſome *Indians*, who carried him priſoner to *Acapulco*, from whence he was transferred to *Mexico*, and then to *Vera Cruz*, where he was ſhipped on board a veſſel bound to *Old Spain*: but, the veſſel being obliged by ſome accident to put into *Liſbon*, *Leger* eſcaped on ſhore, and was by the *Britiſh* Conſul ſent from thence to *England*; where he brought the firſt authentic account of the ſafety of the Commodore, and of his principal tranſactions in the *South Seas*. The relation he gave of his own ſeizure was, that he rambled into the woods at ſome diſtance from

from the barricadoe, where he had firſt attempted to paſs, but had been ſtopped, and threatened to be puniſhed; that his principal view was, to get a quantity of limes for his maſter's ſtore; and that in this occupation he was ſurpriſed unawares by four *Indians*, who ſtripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to *Acapulco*, expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which at that time of the year ſhone with its greateſt violence: that afterwards at *Mexico* his treatment in priſon was ſufficiently ſevere; ſo that the whole courſe of his captivity was a continued inſtance of the hatred which the *Spaniards* bear to all thoſe who endeavour to diſturb them in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the coaſts of the *South Seas*. Indeed *Leger's* fortune was, upon the whole, extremely ſingular; as, after the hazards he had run in the Commodore's ſquadron, and the ſeverities he had ſuffered in his long confinement amongſt the enemy, a more fatal diſaſter attended him on his return to *England*; for though, when he arrived in *London*, ſome of Mr. *Anſon's* friends intereſted themſelves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, ſince he was killed in an inſignificant night-brawl, the cauſe of which could ſcarcely be diſcovered.

And, on occaſion of this ſurpriſal of *Leger*, I muſt obſerve, that though the enemy never appeared in ſight, during our ſtay in the harbour, yet we perceived that large parties of them were encamped in the woods about us; for we could ſee their ſmokes, and could thence determine that they were poſted in a circular line, ſurrounding us at a diſtance; and juſt before our coming away they ſeemed, by the increaſe of their fires, to have received a conſiderable reinforcement. But to return.

Towards the latter end of *April*, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and in ſhort every one of our propoſed employments at the harbour of *Chequetan*, were completed; ſo that, on the 27th of *April*, the *Royal's* prize, the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin*, all which we here intended to deſtroy, were towed on ſhore and ſcuttled, a quantity of combuſtible materials having been diſtributed in their upper works; and the next morning the *Centurion* with the *Glouceſter* weighed anchor; though, as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing,

one of the boats was diſpatched back again, to ſet fire to our prizes, which was accordingly executed. After this a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, incloſing a letter to Mr. *Hughes*, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruiſe before the port of *Acapulco* when we ourſelves quitted that ſtation; and on this occaſion I muſt mention more particularly than I have yet done, the views of the Commodore in leaving the cutter before that port.

When we were neceſſitated to proceed for *Chequetan* to recruit our water, Mr. *Anſon* conſidered that our arrival in that harbour would ſoon be known at *Acapulco*; and therefore he hoped that, on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galeon might put to ſea, eſpecially as *Chequetan* is ſo very remote from the courſe generally ſteered by the galeon; he therefore ordered the cutter to cruiſe twenty-four days off the port of *Acapulco*; and her Commander was directed, on perceiving the galeon under ſail, to make the beſt of his way to the Commodore, at *Chequetan*. As the *Centurion* was doubtleſs a much better ſailor than the galeon, Mr. *Anſon*, in this caſe, reſolved to have got to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and to have purſued the galeon acroſs the *Pacific* Ocean; where, ſuppoſing he ſhould not have met with her in his paſſage (which, conſidering that he would have kept nearly the ſame parallel, was very improbable), yet he was certain of arriving off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*, before her; and, that being the firſt land ſhe makes on her return to the *Philippines*, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her, by cruiſing a few days in that ſtation: however, the Viceroy of *Mexico* ruined this project, by keeping the galeon in the port of *Acapulco* all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr. *Hughes*, the Commander of the cutter, the time of whoſe return was now conſiderably elapſed, directed him to go back immediately to his former ſtation before *Acapulco*, where he would find Mr. *Anſon*, who reſolved to cruiſe for him there a certain number of days; after which it was added, that the Commodore would return to the ſouthward to join the reſt of the ſquadron. This article was inſerted to deceive the *Spaniards*, if they got poſſeſſion of the canoe, as we afterwards learned they did; but could not impoſe on Mr. *Hughes*, who

who well knew that the Commodore had no ſquadron to join, or any intention of ſteering back to *Peru*.

Being now in the offing of *Chequetan*, bound croſs the vaſt *Pacific* Ocean in our way to *China*, we were impatient to run off the coaſt as ſoon as poſſible; ſince the ſtormy ſeaſon was approaching apace. As we had no further views in the *American* ſeas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from ſteering to the weſtward the moment we got out of the harbour of *Chequetan*; and it was no ſmall mortification to us, that our neceſſary employment there had detained us ſo much longer than we expected: but now, when we had put to ſea, we were further detained by the abſence of the cutter, and the neceſſity we were under of ſtanding towards *Acapulco* in ſearch of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruiſe had been expired for near a fortnight, we ſuſpected that ſhe had been diſcovered from the ſhore; and that the Governor of *Acapulco* had thereupon ſent out a force to ſeize her, which, as ſhe carried but ſix hands, was no very difficult enterprize: however, this being only conjecture, the Commodore, as ſoon as he was got clear of the harbour of *Chequetan*, ſtood along the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſearch of her; and, to prevent her from paſſing by us in the dark, we brought-to every night; and the *Glouceſter*, whoſe ſtation was a league within us towards the ſhore, carried a light, which the cutter could not but perceive, if ſhe kept along ſhore, as we ſuppoſed we would do; beſides, as a further ſecurity, the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter* alternately ſhowed two falſe fires every half hour. Indeed, had ſhe eſcaped us, ſhe would have found orders in the canoe to have returned immediately before *Acapulco*, where Mr. *Anſon* propoſed to cruiſe for her ſome days.

By *Sunday* the 2d of *May*, we were advanced within three leagues of *Acapulco*, and having ſeen nothing of our boat, we gave her over as loſt, which, beſides the compaſſionate concern for our ſhip-mates, and for what it was apprehended they might have ſuffered, was in itſelf a misfortune, which, in our preſent ſcarcity of hands, we were all greatly intereſted in; ſince the crew of the cutter, conſiſting of ſix men and the Lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purpoſely picked out for this ſervice, and known to be every one of them of tried and approved reſolution, and as ſkilful ſeamen as ever trod a deck: however, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken, and carried

into *Acapulco*, the Commodore's prudence ſuggeſted a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many *Spaniſh* and *Indian* priſoners in our poſſeſſion, and a number of ſick Negroes, who could be of no ſervice to us in the navigating of the ſhip. The Commodore therefore wrote a letter the ſame day to the Governor of *Acapulco*, telling him, that he would releaſe them all, provided the Governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was diſpatched in the afternoon, by a *Spaniſh* officer, of whoſe honour we had a good opinion, and who was furniſhed with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of ſix other priſoners, who gave their parole for their return. The *Spaniſh* officer too, beſides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition, ſigned by all the reſt of the priſoners, beſeeching the Governor to acquieſce in the terms propoſed for their liberty. From a conſideration of the number of our priſoners, and the quality of ſome of them, we did not doubt but the Governor would readily comply with Mr. *Anſon's* propoſal; and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an anſwer at the limited time, which was the next day, being *Monday*; but both on *Monday* and *Tueſday* we were driven ſo far off ſhore, that we could not hope that any anſwer could reach us; and even on the *Wedneſday* morning we found ourſelves fourteen leagues from the harbour of *Acapulco*; however, as the wind was then favourable, we preſſed forwards with all our ſail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon. Whilſt we were thus ſtanding in, the ſentinel called out from the maſt-head, that he ſaw a boat under ſail at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth eaſtward; this we took for granted was the anſwer of the Governor to the Commodore's meſſage, and we inſtantly edged towards her; but, as we approached her, we found, to our unſpeakable joy, that it was our own cutter: and though, while ſhe was ſtill at a diſtance, we imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged out of the port of *Acapulco* by the Governor; yet, when ſhe drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much greater hardſhips than could be expected from even the ſeverities of a *Spaniſh* priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were immediately

diately put to bed, where, by reſt, and nouriſhing diet, which they were plentifully ſupplied with from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace: and now we learnt that they had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks; that when, they had finiſhed their cruiſe before *Acapulco*, and had juſt begun to ply to the weſtward, in order to join the ſquadron, a ſtrong adverſe current had forced them down the coaſt to the eaſtward, in ſpite of all their efforts to the contrary; that, at length, their water being all expended, they were obliged to ſearch the coaſt farther on to the eaſtward, in queſt of ſome convenient landing-place, where they might get a freſh ſupply; that in this diſtreſs they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found every where ſo large a ſurf, that there was not the leaſt poſſibility of their landing; that they paſſed ſome days in this dreadful ſituation without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirſt, than ſucking the blood of the turtles which they caught; that at laſt, giving up all hopes of ſuccour, the heat of the climate too augmenting their neceſſities, and rendering their ſufferings inſupportable, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, fully perſuaded that they ſhould periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but that ſoon after a moſt unexpected incident happily relieved them: for there fell ſo heavy a rain, that, on ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centers of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their caſks; that immediately upon this fortunate ſupply they ſtood to the weſtward, in queſt of the Commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a ſtrong current, they joined us in leſs than fifty hours from that time, after having been abſent in the whole full forty-three days. Thoſe who have an idea of the inconſiderable ſize of a cutter belonging to a ſixty gun ſhip, (being only an open boat about twenty-two feet in length), and who will reflect on the various caſualties that muſt have attended her during a ſix weeks continuance alone, in the open ocean, on ſo impracticable and dangerous a coaſt, will readily own, that her return to us at laſt, after all the difficulties which ſhe actually experienced, and the dangers to which ſhe was each hour expoſed, may be conſidered as little ſhort of miraculous.

I cannot finiſh this article of the cutter, without remarking how ſlender a reliance navigators ought to have on the

accounts of the Buccaneer writers; for though, in this run of hers, eighty leagues to the eaſtward of *Acapulco*, ſhe found no place where it was poſſible that a boat could land; yet thoſe writers have not been aſhamed to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within theſe limits, thereby expoſing ſuch as would confide in their relations to the riſque of being deſtroyed by thirſt.

I muſt farther add, on this occaſion, that when we ſtood near the port of *Acapulco*, in order to ſend our meſſage to the Governor and to receive his anſwer, Mr. *Brett* took that opportunity of delineating a view of the entrance of the port, and of the neighbouring coaſt, which, added to the plan of the place formerly mentioned, may be of conſiderable uſe hereafter, and is therefore exhibited in the XXXIId plate. In this plate, (*a*) is the weſt point of the harbour called the *Griffo*, being in the latitude of 16° : 45′; (*b*) is the iſland near it, bearing from the obſerver N. by E. three leagues diſtant; (*d*) is the eaſt point of the harbour; (*e*) port *Marquis*; (*f*) *Sierra di Brea*; (*h*) a white rock in the harbour; and (*g*) watch towers.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the ſole object of our coming a ſecond time before *Acapulco*, the Commodore determined not to loſe a moment's time more, but to run off the coaſt with the utmoſt expedition, both as the ſtormy ſeaſon on the coaſt of *Mexico* was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehenſive of having the weſterly monſoons to ſtruggle with when we came upon the coaſt of *China*: for this reaſon, we no longer ſtood towards *Acapulco*, as at preſent we wanted no anſwer from the Governor: however, Mr. *Anſon* reſolved not to deprive his priſoners of the liberty which he had promiſed them; and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches which belonged to our prizes, thoſe from the *Centurion* in one launch, and thoſe from the *Gloucester* in the other. The launches were well equipped with maſts, ſails, and oars; and, leſt the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a ſtock of water and proviſions put on board them ſufficient for fourteen days. There were diſcharged thirty-nine perſons from on board the *Centurion*, and eighteen from the *Glouceſter*, the greateſt part of them *Spaniards*, the reſt being *Indians* and ſick Negroes: indeed as our crews were very weak, we kept the Mulattoes and ſome of the ſtouteſt of our Negroes, with a few

a few *Indians*, to aſſiſt us; but we diſmiſſed every *Spaniſh* priſoner whatever. We have ſince learnt, that theſe two launches arrived ſafe at *Acapulco*, where the priſoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated. It ſeems the Governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging anſwer to our letter, and had at the ſame time ordered out two boats laden with the choiceſt refreſhments and proviſions that were to be procured at *Acapulco*, which he intended as a preſent to the Commodore; but theſe boats, not having found our ſhips, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their proviſions over-board in a ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction.

The ſending away our priſoners was our laſt tranſaction on the *American* coaſt; for no ſooner had we parted with them, than we and the *Glouceſter* made ſail to the S. W. propoſing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped, in a few days, to meet with the regular trade-wind, which the accounts of former navigators had repreſented as much briſker and ſteadier in this ocean than in any other part of the world; for it has been eſteemed no uncommon paſſage to run from hence to the eaſtermoſt iſles of *Aſia* in two months; and we flattered ourſelves that we were as capable of making an expeditious voyage as any ſhips that had ever ſailed this courſe before us; ſo that we hoped ſoon to gain the coaſt of *China*, for which we were now bound. As we conceived this navigation to be free from all kinds of embarraſſments of bad weather, fatigue, or ſickneſs, conformable to the general idea of it given by former travellers, we conſtantly undertook it with alacrity, eſpecially as it was no contemptible ſhep towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus, on the 6th of *May*, we for the laſt time loſt ſight of the mountains of *Mexico*, perſuaded, that in a few weeks we ſhould arrive at the river of *Canton* in *China*, where we expected to meet with many *Engliſh* ſhips, and with numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable well-frequented port, inhabited by a poliſhed people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgencies of a civilized life; bleſſings which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power: but, before we take our final leave of *America*,

there yet remains the conſideration of a matter well worthy of attention, the diſcuſſion of which ſhall be referred to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

A brief account of what might have been expected from our ſquadron, had it arrived in the South Seas *in good time.*

AFTER the recital of the tranſactions of the Commodore, and the ſhips under his command, on the coaſts of *Peru* and *Mexico*, contained in the preceding narration; it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to examine what the whole ſquadron might have been capable of atchieving, had it arrived on its deſtined ſcene of action in ſo good a plight as it would probably have done had the paſſage round Cape *Horn* been attempted at a more ſeaſonable time of the year. This diſquiſition may be ſerviceable to thoſe who ſhall hereafter form projects of the like nature for that part of the world, or who may be intruſted with their execution: and therefore I propoſe, in this chapter, to conſider, as ſuccinctly as I can, the numerous advantages which the public might have received from the operations of the ſquadron, had it ſet ſail from *England* a few months ſooner than it did.

To begin then; I preſume it will be granted me, that in the ſummer time we might have got round Cape *Horn* with an inconſiderable loſs, and without any material damage to our ſhips or rigging; for the Duke and Ducheſs of *Briſtol*, who between them had above three hundred men, buried no more than two, from the coaſt of *Brazil* to *Juan Fernandes*; and out of a hundred and eighty-three hands which were on board the Duke alone, there were only twenty-one ſick of the ſcurvy when they arrived at the Iſland; whence, as men of war are much better provided with all conveniencies than privateers, we might doubtleſs have appeared before *Baldivia* in full ſtrength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceleſs ſtate, its cannon incapable of ſervice, and its garriſon in a great meaſure unarmed, it was impoſſible that it could have oppoſed our force, or that its half-ſtarved inhabitants,

bitants, moſt of whom are convicts baniſhed hither from other parts, could have any other thoughts than that of ſubmitting. This would have been a very important acquiſition; ſince, when *Baldivia*, which is an excellent port, had been once in our poſſeſſion, we ſhould immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of *Chili*, and ſhould doubtleſs have awed the moſt diſtant parts of the *Spaniſh* Empire in *America*. Indeed it is far from improbable, that, by a prudent uſe of this place, aided by our other advantages, we might have given a violent ſhock to the authority of *Spain* on that whole Continent; and might have rendered ſome at leaſt of her provinces independent. This would certainly have turned the whole attention of the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry to that part of the world, where the danger would have been ſo preſſing; and thence *Great Britain* and her allies might have been rid of the numerous difficulties, which the wealth of the *Spaniſh Indies*, operating in conjunction with the *Gallic* intrigues, have conſtantly thrown in their way.

But, that I may not be thought to over-rate the force of this ſquadron, by aſcribing to it a power of overturning the *Spaniſh* Government in *America*, it is neceſſary to enter into a more particular diſcuſſion, and to premiſe a few obſervations on the condition of the provinces bordering near the *South Seas*, and on the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, at that time; for hence it will appear, that the conjuncture was the moſt favourable we could have deſired; ſince we ſhall find that the *Creolian* ſubjects were diſaffected, and their Governors at variance; that the country was wretchedly provided with arms and ſtores, and they had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garriſons; and that the *Indians* on their frontier were univerſally diſcontented, and ſeemed to be watching with impatience the favourable moment when they might take a ſevere revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under during more than two ages; ſo that every circumſtance concurred to facilitate the enterpriſes of our ſquadron. Of all theſe articles we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes; none of theſe veſſels, as I remember, having had the precaution to throw their papers over-board.

The ill blood amongſt the Governors was greatly augmented by their apprehenſions of our ſquadron; for every

one being willing to have it believed, that the bad condition of his Government was not the effect of negligence. there were continual demands and remonſtrances among them, in order to throw the blame upon each other. Thus, for inſtance, the Preſident of *St. Jago* in *Chili*, the Preſident of *Panama*, and many other Governors and Military Officers, were perpetually ſoliciting the Viceroy of *Peru* to furniſh them with the neceſſary ſums of money for putting their provinces and places in a proper ſtate of defence to oppoſe our deſigns; but the cuſtomary anſwer of the Viceroyal to theſe repreſentations was, That he was unable to comply with their requeſts; urging the emptineſs of the roy cheſt of *Lima*, and the difficulties he was under to ſupport the expences of his own Government; he in one of his letters (which we intercepted) mentioning his apprehenſions that he might ſoon be neceſſitated to ſtop the pay of the troops, and even of the garriſon of *Callao*, the key of the whole kingdom of *Peru*. Indeed he did at times remit to theſe Governors ſome part of their demands; but, as what he ſent them was greatly ſhort of their wants, theſe partial ſupplies rather tended to the raiſing jealouſies and heartburnings among them, than contributed to the purpoſes for which they had at firſt been deſired.

Beſides theſe mutual janglings amongſt the Governors, the whole body of the people were extremely diſſatisfied; they being fully perſuaded that the affairs of *Spain* for many years before had been managed by the influence of a particular foreign intereſt, which was altogether detached from the advantage of the *Spaniſh* nation; ſo that the inhabitants of theſe diſtant provinces believed themſelves to be ſacrificed to an ambition, which never conſidered their convenience or emoluments, nor paid any regard to the reputation of their name, or the honour of their country. That this was the temper of the *Creolian Spaniards* at that time, might be proved from a hundred inſtances; but I ſhall content myſelf with one, which is indeed concluſive: this is the teſtimony of the *French* Mathematicians ſent into *America*, to meaſure the magnitude of an equatorial degree of latitude: for in the relation of a murder of a ſurgeon belonging to their company, in one of the cities of *Peru*, and of the popular tumult thence occaſioned, written by one of thoſe aſtronomers: the author confeſſes, that the multitude, during the uproar, univerſally joined in imprecations on their bad Government,

Government, and beſtowed the moſt abuſive language upon the *French*, deteſting them, in all probability, more particularly as being of a nation, to whoſe influence in the *Spaniſh* Counſels the *Spaniards* imputed all their misfortunes.

And whilſt the *Creolian Spaniards* were thus diſſatisfied, it appears by the letters we intercepted, that the *Indians*, on almoſt every frontier, were ripe for a revolt, and would have taken up arms upon the ſlighteſt encouragement; particularly the *Indians* in the ſouthern parts of *Peru*; as likewiſe the *Arraucos*, and the reſt of the *Chilian Indians*, the moſt powerful and terrible to the *Spaniſh* name of any on that Continent: for it ſeems, in ſome diſputes between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, which happened a ſhort time before our arrival, the *Spaniards* had inſulted the *Indians* with an account of the force which they expected from *Old Spain*, under the command of Admiral *Pizarro*, and had vaunted that he was coming thither to complete the great work which had been left unfiniſhed by his anceſtors. Theſe threats alarmed the *Indians*, and made them believe that their extirpation was reſolved on: for the *Pizarros* being the firſt conquerors of that coaſt, the *Peruvian Indians* held the name, and all that bore it, in execration; not having forgot the deſtruction of their Monarch, the maſſacre of their beloved Inca *Atapalapa*, the extinction of their religion, and the ſlaughter of their anceſtors; all perpetrated by the family of the *Pizarros*. The *Chilian Indians* too abhorred a Chief who was deſcended of a race, which, by its Lieutenants, had firſt attempted to enſlave them, and had neceſſitated the ſtouteſt of their Tribes, for more than a century, to be continually waſting their blood in defence of their independency.

Nor let it be ſuppoſed, that among barbarous nations the tradition of theſe diſtant tranſactions could not be preſerved for ſo long an interval; ſince thoſe who have been acquainted with that part of the world agree, that the *Indians*, in their public feaſts and annual ſolemnities, conſtantly revive the memory of theſe tragic incidents; and ſuch as have been preſent at theſe ſpectacles have conſtantly obſerved, that all the recitals and repreſentations of this kind were received with emotions ſo vehement, and with ſo enthuſiaſtic a rage, as plainly demonſtrated how ſtrongly the memory of their former wrongs was implanted in them, and how acceptable the means of revenge would at all times prove. To this I

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muſt add too, that the *Spaniſh* Governors themſelves were ſo fully informed of the diſpoſition of the *Indians* at this conjuncture, and were ſo apprehenſive of a general defection among them, that they employed all their induſtry to reconcile the moſt dangerous Tribes, and to prevent them from immediately taking up arms: amongſt the reſt, the Preſident of *Chili* in particular made large conceſſions to the *Arraucos*, and the other *Chilian Indians*, by which, and by diſtributing conſiderable preſents to their leading men, he at laſt got them to conſent to a prolongation of the truce between the two nations: but theſe negotiations were not concluded at the time when we might have been in the *South Seas*; and, had they been completed, yet the hatred of theſe *Indians* to the *Spaniards* was ſo great, that it would have been impoſſible for their Chiefs, how deeply ſoever corrupted, to have kept them from joining us againſt their old deteſted enemy.

Thus then it appears, that on our arrival in the *South-Seas* we might have found the whole coaſt unprovided with troops, and deſtitute even of arms: for we well know, from very particular intelligence, that there were not three hundred fire arms, of which too the greateſt part were matchlocks, in all the province of *Chili*; whilſt at the ſame time the *Indians* were ripe for a revolt, the *Spaniards* diſpoſed to mutiny, and the Governors enraged with one another; and each prepared to rejoice in the diſgrace of his antagoniſt. At this fortunate criſis we, on the other hand, might have conſiſted of near two thouſand men, the greateſt part in health and vigour, all well armed, and united under a Chief, whoſe enterpriſing genius (as we have ſeen) could not be depreſſed by a continued ſeries of the moſt ſiniſter events, and whoſe equable and prudent turn of temper would have remained unvaried, in the midſt of the greateſt degree of good ſucceſs; and who beſides poſſeſſed, in a diſtinguiſhed manner, the two qualities the moſt neceſſary for theſe uncommon undertakings; I mean, that of maintaining his authority, and preſerving at the ſame time the affections of his people. Our other officers too, of every rank, appear, by the experience the public hath ſince had of them, to have been equal to any attempt they might have been charged with by their Commander; and our men (at all times brave, if well conducted) in ſuch a cauſe, where treaſure was the object, and under ſuch leaders, would doubtleſs

doubtleſs have been prepared to rival the moſt celebrated atchievements hitherto performed by *Britiſh* mariners.

It cannot then be conteſted, but that *Ballivia* muſt have ſurrendered on the appearance of our ſquadron; after which, it may be preſumed, that the *Arraucos*, the *Pulches*, and *Penguinches*, inhabiting the banks of the river *Imperial*, about twenty-five leagues to the northward of this place, would have immediately taken up arms, being diſpoſed thereto, as hath been already related, and encouraged by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force in their neighbourhood. As theſe *Indians* can bring into the field near thirty thouſand men, the greateſt part of them horſe, their firſt ſtep would have been the invading the province of *Chili*, which they would have found totally unprovided both of ammunition and weapons; and as its inhabitants are a luxurious and effeminate race, they would have been incapable, on ſuch an emergency, of giving any oppoſition to this rugged enemy; ſo that it is no ſtrained conjecture to imagine, that the *Indians* would have been ſoon maſters of the whole country. Moreover, the other *Indians* on the frontiers of *Peru*, being equally diſpoſed with the *Arraucos* to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* yoke, it is highly probable, that they likewiſe would have embraced this favourable occaſion, and that a general inſurrection would have taken place through all the *Spaniſh* territories of *South America*; in which caſe, the only reſource left to the *Creolians* (diſſatisfied as they were with the *Spaniſh* Government) would have been to have made the beſt terms they could with their *Indian* neighbours, and to have withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of a maſter who had ſhewn ſo little regard for their ſecurity. This laſt ſuppoſition may perhaps appear chimerical to thoſe who meaſure the poſſibility of all events by the ſcanty ſtandard of their own experience; but the temper of the times, and the ſtrong diſlike of the natives to the meaſures then purſued by the *Spaniſh* Court, ſufficiently evince, at leaſt, its poſſibility. However, not to inſiſt on the preſumption of a general revolt, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to conclude, that the *Arraucos* would ſcarcely have failed of taking arms on our appearance; ſince this alone would ſo far have terrified the enemy, that they would no longer have employed their thoughts on the means of oppoſing us; but would have turned all their cares to the *Indian* affairs, as they ſtill remember

member with the utmoſt horror the ſacking of their cities, the riffling of their convents, the captivity of their wives and daughters, and the deſolation of their country, by theſe reſolute ſavages, in the laſt war between the two nations: for it muſt be obſerved, that the *Chilian Indians* have been frequently ſucceſsful againſt the *Spaniards*, and poſſeſs at this time a large tract of country, which was formerly full of *Spaniſh* towns and villages, whoſe inhabitants were all either deſtroyed or carried into captivity, by the *Arauco* and the other neighbouring *Indians*, who, in a war againſt the *Spaniards*, never fail to join their forces.

But even, independent of an *Indian* revolt, there were two places only on all the coaſt of the *South Sea* which could be ſuppoſed capable of reſiſting our squadron; theſe were the cities of *Panama* and *Callao*: as to the firſt of theſe, its fortifications were ſo decayed, and it was ſo much in want of powder, that the Preſident himſelf, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged it was incapable of being defended; whence, I take it for granted, it would have given us but little trouble, eſpecially if we had opened a communication acroſs the Iſthmus with our fleet on the other ſide. And with regard to the city and port of *Callao*, its condition was not much better than that of *Panama*; ſince its walls are built upon the plain ground, without either out-work or ditch before them, and conſiſt only of very ſlender, feeble maſonry, without any earth behind them; ſo that a battery of five or ſix pieces of cannon, raiſed any where within four or five hundred paces of the place, would have had a full view of the whole rampart, and would have opened it in a ſhort time; and the breach hereby formed, as the walls are ſo extremely thin, could not have been difficult of aſcent, for the ruins would have been but little higher than the ſurface of the ground; and it would have yielded this particular advantage to the aſſailants, that the bullets which graz'd upon it would have driven before them ſuch ſhivers of brick and ſtone, as would have prevented the garriſon from forming behind it, ſuppoſing that the troops employed in defence of the place ſhould have ſo far ſurpaſſed the uſual limits of *Creolian* bravery, as to reſolve to ſtand a general aſſault. Indeed, ſuch a reſolution cannot be imputed to them; for the garriſon and people were in general diſſatisfied with the Viceroy's behaviour,

haviour, and were never expected to act a vigorous part. On the contrary, the Viceroy himself greatly apprehended that the Commodore would make him a visit at *Lima*, the capital of the kingdom of *Peru*; to prevent which, if possible, he had ordered twelve gallies to be built at *Guaiaquil* and other places, which were intended to oppose the landing of our boats, and to hinder us from pushing our men on shore. But this was an impracticable project of defence, and proceeded on the supposition that our ships, when we should land our men, would keep at such a distance, that these gallies, by drawing little water, would have been out of the reach of our guns; whereas the Commodore, before he had made such an attempt, would doubtless have been possessed of several prize ships, which he would not have hesitated to have run on shore for the protection of his boats; and besides, there were many places on that coast, and one particularly in the neighbourhood of *Callao*, where there was good anchoring, though a great depth of water, within a cable's length of the shore; consequently the cannon of the men of war would have swept all the coast to above a mile's distance from the water's edge, and would have effectually prevented any force from assembling, to oppose the landing and forming of our men; and this landing-place had the additional advantage, that it was but two leagues distant from *Lima*; so that we might have been at that city within four hours after we should have been first discovered from the shore. The place I have in view is about two leagues South of *Callao*, and just to the northward of the head-land called in *Frezier's* draught of that coast, *Morro Solar*. Here there is seventy or eighty fathom of water, within two cables length of the shore; and here the *Spaniards* themselves were so apprehensive of our attempting to land, that they had projected to build a fort close to the water; but, as there was no money in the royal chests, they could not complete so considerable a work, and therefore they contented themselves with keeping a guard of a hundred horse there, that they might be sure to receive early notice of our appearance on that coast. Indeed some of them (as we were told), conceiving our management at sea to be as pusillanimous as their own, pretended that this was a road where the Commodore would never dare to hazard his ships, for fear that in so great a depth of water their anchors could not hold them.

And

And let it not be imagined that I am proceeding upon groundleſs and extravagant preſumptions, when I conclude, that fifteen hundred or a thouſand of our people, well conducted, ſhould have been an over-match for any numbers the *Spaniards* could muſter in *South America*; ſince, not to mention the experience we had of them at *Paita* and *Petaplan*, it muſt be remembered, that our Commodore was extremely ſolicitous to have all his men trained to the dextrous uſe of their fire-arms; whereas the *Spaniards*, in this part of the world, were wretchedly provided with arms, and were very awkward in the management of the few they had; and though, on their repeated repreſentations, the Court of *Spain* had ordered ſeveral thouſand firelocks to be put on board *Pizarro's* ſquadron, yet thoſe, it is evident, could not have been in *America* time enough to have been employed againſt us. Hence then, by our arms, and our readineſs in the uſe of them (not to inſiſt on the timidity and ſoftneſs of our enemy), we ſhould in ſome degree have had the ſame advantages, which the *Spaniards* themſelves had on the firſt diſcovery of this country, againſt its naked and unarmed inhabitants.

Now let it in the next place be conſidered, what were the events which we had to fear, or what were the circumſtances which could have prevented us from giving law to all the coaſt of *South America*, and thereby cutting off from *Spain* the reſources which ſhe drew from thoſe immenſe provinces. By ſea, there was no force capable of oppoſing us; for, how ſoon ſoever we had ſailed, *Pizarro's* ſquadron could not have ſailed ſooner than it did, and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with: as we ſhould have been maſters of the ports of *Chili*, we could thereby have ſupplied ourſelves with the proviſions we wanted in the greateſt plenty; and from *Baldivia* to the equinoctial we ran no riſque of loſing our men by ſickneſs (that being of all climates the moſt temperate and healthy), nor of having our ſhips diſabled by bad weather. And had we wanted ſailors to aſſiſt in the navigating of our ſquadron, whilſt a conſiderable proportion of our men were employed on ſhore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers we pleaſed in the ports we ſhould have taken, and from the prizes which would have fallen into our hands; for I muſt obſerve that the *Indians*, who are the principal mariners in that part of the world, are extremely docile and dextrous; and, though they are not fit

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to ſtruggle with the inclemencies of a cold climate, yet in temperate ſeas they are moſt uſeful and laborious ſeamen.

Thus then it appears what important revolutions might have been brought about by our ſquadron, had it departed from *England* as early as it ought to have done; and from hence it is eaſy to conclude, what immenſe advantages might have thence accrued to the public: for, as on our ſucceſs it would have been impoſſible that the kingdom of *Spain* ſhould have received any treaſure from the provinces bordering on the *South Seas*, or ſhould even have had any communication with them; it is certain that the whole attention of that Monarchy would have been immediately employed in endeavouring to regain theſe ineſtimable territories, either by force of arms or compact. By the firſt of theſe methods it was ſcarcely poſſible they could ſucceed; for it muſt have been at leaſt a twelve-month after our arrival before any ſhips from *Spain* could have got into the *South Seas*, and when they had been there, they would have found themſelves without reſource; ſince they would probably have been ſeparated, diſabled, and ſickly, and would then have had no port remaining in their poſſeſſion, where they could either rendezvous or refit: whilſt we might have been ſupplied acroſs the Iſthmus with whatever neceſſaries, ſtores, or even men, we wanted; and might thereby have ſupported our ſquadron in as good a plight as when it firſt ſet ſail from *St. Helens*. In ſhort, it required but little prudence ſo to have conducted this buſineſs, as to have rendered all the efforts of *Spain*, ſeconded by the power of *France*, ineffectual, and to have maintained our conqueſt in defiance of them both: whence they muſt either have reſolved to have left *Great Britain* miſtreſs of the wealth of *South America* (the principal ſupport of all their deſtructive projects), or they muſt have ſubmitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive theſe provinces back again, as an equivalent for ſuch reſtrictions to their future ambition as ſhe in her prudence ſhould have dictated to them. Having thus diſcuſſed the prodigious weight which the operations of our ſquadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, I ſhall here end this ſecond book, referring to the next, the paſſage of the ſhattered remains of our force acroſs the *Pacific* ocean, and all their ſubſequent tranſactions till the Commodore's arrival in *England*.

END *of* BOOK II.

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD, &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The run from the coaſt of Mexico *to the* Ladrones *or* Marian *Iſlands.*

WHEN, on the 6th of *May*, 1742, we left the coaſt of *America*, we ſtood to the S. W. with a view of meeting the N. E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at ſeventy or eighty leagues from the land. We had beſides another reaſon for ſtanding to the ſouthward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° North; that being the parallel where the *Pacific* Ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, and conſequently where the navigation is eſteemed the ſafeſt: this laſt purpoſe we had ſoon anſwered, being in a day or two ſufficiently advanced to the South: but, though we were at the ſame time more diſtant from the ſhore than we had preſumed was neceſſary for the falling in with the trade-winds, yet in this particular we were moſt grievouſly diſappointed; the wind ſtill continuing to the weſtward, or at beſt variable. As the getting into the N. E. trade was to us a matter of the laſt conſequence, we ſtood yet more to the ſouthward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were for a long time unſucceſsful; ſo that it was ſeven weeks from our leaving the coaſt before we got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval in which we had at firſt believed we ſhould well nigh have reached the eaſtermoſt parts of *Aſia*; but we were ſo baffled with the

the contrary and variable winds which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a ſufficient mortification; but there were other circumſtances attending it, which rendered this ſituation not leſs terrible, and our apprehenſions perhaps ſtill greater than in any of our paſt calamities; for our two ſhips were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not paſſed before we diſcovered a ſpring in the foremaſt of the *Centurion*, which rounded about twenty-ſix inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at leaſt four inches deep: and no ſooner had the carpenters ſecured this maſt with fiſhing it, than the *Glouceſter* made a ſignal of diſtreſs, to inform us that ſhe had a ſpring in her main maſt, twelve feet below the truſſel-trees; which appeared ſo dangerous that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it. Our carpenters, on a ſtrict examination of this maſt, found it exceſſively rotten and decayed; and it being judged neceſſary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was by this means reduced to nothing but a ſtump, which ſerved only as a ſtep to the top-maſt. Theſe accidents augmented our delay, and, being added to our other diſtreſſes, occaſioned us great anxiety about our future ſafety: for though, after our departure from *Juan Fernandes*, we had enjoyed a moſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, till our leaving the coaſt of *Mexico*, yet the ſcurvy now began to make freſh havock amongſt our people: and we too well knew the effects of this diſeaſe, by our former fatal experience, to ſuppoſe that any thing except a ſpeedy paſſage could ſecure the greater part of our crew from being deſtroyed thereby: but as, after being ſeven weeks at ſea, there did not appear any reaſons that could perſuade us we were nearer the trade wind than when we ſet out, there was no ground for us to imagine, that our paſſage would not prove at leaſt three times as long as we at firſt expected; and conſequently we had the melancholy proſpect either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of periſhing with the ſhip for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, ſeveral amongſt us were willing to believe, that in this warm climate, ſo different from what we felt in paſſing round Cape *Horn*, the violence of this diſeaſe, and its fatality, might be in ſome degree mitigated; as it had not been unuſual to ſuppoſe that its particular virulence during that paſſage was in a great meaſure owing to the ſeverity of the weather:

weather: but the ravage of the diſtemper in our preſent circumſtances ſoon convinced us of the falſity of this ſpeculation; as it likewiſe exploded certain other opinions, which uſually paſs current about the cauſe and nature of this diſeaſe.

For it has been generally preſumed, that ſufficient ſupplies of water and freſh proviſions are effectual preventives of this malady; but it happened that in the preſent caſe we had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions on board, being the hogs and fowls which were taken at Prince; we beſides almoſt daily caught great abundance of bonitos, dolphins, and albicores; and the unſettled ſeaſon, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely rainy; ſo that we were enabled to fill up our water-caſks almoſt as faſt as they were empty; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day during the paſſage: but, notwithſtanding this plenty of water, notwithſtanding that the freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt the ſick, and the whole crew often fed upon fiſh; yet neither were the ſick hereby relieved, or the progreſs or malignity of the diſeaſe at all abated. Nor was it in theſe inſtannes only that we found the general maxims upon this head defective; for though it has been uſually eſteemed a neceſſary piece of management to keep all ſhips, where the crews are large, as clean and airy between decks as poſſible, and it hath been believed by many, that this particular alone, if well attended to, would prevent the appearance of the ſcurvy, or at leaſt mitigate its virulence; yet we obſerved, during the latter part of our run, that, though we kept all our ports open, and took uncommon pains in cleanſing and ſweetening the ſhips, the diſeaſe ſtill raged with as much violeuce as ever; nor did its advancement ſeem to be thereby ſenſibly retarded.

However, I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that freſh proviſions, plenty of water, and a conſtant ſupply of ſweet air between decks, are matters of no moment: I am, on the contrary, well ſatisfied, that they are all of them articles of great importance, and are doubtleſs extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may in many caſes prevent this fatal malady from taking place. All I have aimed at, in what I have advanced, is only to evince, that in ſome inſtances both the cure and prevention of this malady is impoſſible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies

remedies which can be made uſe of at ſea. Indeed, I am myſelf fully perſuaded, that when it has got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the ſick but carrying them on ſhore, or at leaſt bringing them into the neighbourhood of the land. Perhaps a diſtinct and adequate knowledge of the ſource of this diſeaſe may never be diſcovered; but, in general, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that, as a continued ſupply of freſh air is neceſſary to all animal life, and as this air is ſo particular a fluid, that, without loſing its elaſticity, or any of its obvious properties, it may be rendered unfit for this purpoſe, by mixing with it ſome very ſubtile and otherwiſe imperceptible effluvia; it may be eaſily conceived, I ſay, that the ſteams ariſing from the ocean may have a tendency to render the air they are ſpread through leſs properly adapted to the ſupport of the life of terreſtrial animals, unleſs theſe ſteams are corrected by effluvia of another kind, which perhaps the land alone can afford.

To what hath been already ſaid in relation to this diſeaſe, I ſhall add, that our ſurgeon (who, during our paſſage round Cape *Horn*, had aſcribed the mortality we ſuffered to the ſeverity of the climate) exerted himſelf in the preſent run to the utmoſt: but he at laſt declared, that all his meaſures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the leaſt avail his patients. On this, it was reſolved by the Commodore to try the ſucceſs of two medicines, which, juſt before his departure from *England*, were the ſubject of much diſcourſe, I mean the pill and drop of Mr. *Ward*: for, however violent the operations of theſe medicines are ſaid to have ſometimes proved, yet in the preſent inſtance, where without ſome remedy deſtruction ſeemed inevitable, the experiment at leaſt was thought adviſeable; and therefore, one or both of them, at different times, were adminiſtered to perſons in every ſtage of the diſtemper. Out of the numbers who took them, one, ſoon after ſwallowing the pill, was ſeized with a violent bleeding at the noſe: he was before given over by the ſurgeon, and lay almoſt at the point of death; but he immediately found himſelf much better, and continued to recover, though ſlowly, till we arrived on ſhore, which was near a fortnight after. A few others too were relieved for ſome days, but the diſeaſe returned again with as much virulence as ever. Though neither did theſe, nor the reſt who received no benefit, appear to be reduced

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to a worſe condition than they would have been if they had taken nothing. The moſt remarkable property of theſe medicines, and what was obvious in almoſt every one that took them, was, that they acted in proportion to the vigour of the patient; ſo that thoſe who were within two or three days of dying were ſcarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the diſeaſe, the operation was, either a gentle perſpiration, an eaſy vomit, or a moderate purge; but if they were taken by one in full ſtrength, they then produced all the forementioned effects with conſiderable violence, which ſometimes continued for ſix or eight hours together with little intermiſſion. However, let us return to the proſecution of our voyage.

I have already obſerved, that, a few days after our running off the coaſt of *Mexico*, the *Glouceſter* had her main-maſt cut down to a ſtump, and we were obliged to fiſh our fore-maſt; and that theſe misfortunes were greatly aggravated by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near ſeven weeks. I ſhall now add, that when we reached the trade-wind, and it ſettled between the North and Eaſt, yet it ſeldom blew with ſo much ſtrength, that the *Centurion* might not have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad without the leaſt danger; ſo that, had we been a ſingle ſhip, we might have run down our longitude a-pace, and have arrived at the *Ladrones* ſoon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men who afterwards periſhed: but the *Glouceſter*, by the loſs of her main-maſt, ſailed ſo very heavily, that we had ſeldom any more than our top-ſails ſet, and yet were frequently obliged to lie to for her: and I conceive, that on the whole we loſt little leſs than a month by our attendance upon her, in conſequence of the various miſchances ſhe encountered. During all this run, it was remarkable that we were rarely many days together without ſeeing great numbers of birds, which is a proof that there are ſeveral Iſlands, or at leaſt rocks, ſcattered all along, at no very conſiderable diſtance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the *Spaniſh* chart, hereafter inſerted; but the frequency of theſe birds ſeems to aſcertain that there are many more than have been hitherto diſcovered; for the moſt part of the birds we obſerved were ſuch as are known to rooſt on ſhore; and the manner of their appearance ſufficiently evinced that they came from ſome diſtant haunt every morning, and returned thither

thither again in the evening; ſince we never ſaw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we ſuppoſed was occaſioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of *June* till towards the end of *July*: but on the 26th of *July*, being then, as we eſteemed, about three hundred leagues from the *Ladrones*, we met with a weſterly wind, which did not come about again to the eaſtward in four days time. This was a moſt diſpiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of ſpeedy relief; eſpecially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the *Glouceſter*: for in one part of theſe four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ſhips rolled very deep; by which means the *Glouceſter's* forecap ſplitting, her fore top maſt came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby rendered incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, we were under a neceſſity, as ſoon as a gale ſprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthieſt and ableſt of our ſeamen were removed from the duty of our own ſhip, and were continued eight or ten days together on board the *Glouceſter*, to aſſiſt in repairing her damages: but theſe things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our diſaſters; for ſcarce had our people finiſhed their buſineſs in the *Glouceſter* before we met with a moſt violent ſtorm from the weſtern board, which obliged us to lie to. At the beginning of this ſtorm our ſhip ſprung a leak, and let in ſo much water, that all our people, officers included, were conſtantly employed about the pumps; and the next day we had the vexation to ſee the *Glouceſter* with her fore-top maſt once more by the board. Nor was that the whole of her calamity, ſince, whilſt we were viewing her with great concern for this new diſtreſs, we ſaw her main-top maſt, which had hitherto ſerved her as a jury main-maſt, ſhare the ſame fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without reſource; for we knew the *Glouceſter's* crew were ſo few and feeble, that without our aſſiſtance they could not be relieved; whilſt at the ſame time our ſick were now ſo far increaſed, and thoſe who remained in health ſo continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impoſſible for us to lend them any

aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprized of the deplorable ſituation of the *Glouceſter's* crew; for when the ſtorm abated, which, during its continuance, prevented all communication with them, the *Glouceſter* bore up under our ſtern; and Captain *Mitchel* informed the Commodore, that, beſides the loſs of his maſts, which was all that was viſible to us, the ſhip had then no leſs than ſeven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept conſtantly at the pumps for the laſt twenty-four hours.

This new circumſtance was indeed a moſt terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary diſtreſſes of the *Glouceſter*, and required, if poſſible, the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous aſſiſtance; which Captain *Mitchel* begged the Commodore to afford him: but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preſervation, rendered it impracticable for the Commodore to comply with his requeſt. All that could be done, was to ſend our boat on board, for a more particular account of the ſhip's condition; as it was ſoon ſuſpected that the taking her people on board us, and then deſtroying her, was the only meaſure that could be proſecuted, in the preſent emergency, both for the ſecurity of their lives and of our own.

Our boat ſoon returned, with a repreſentation of the ſtate of the *Glouceſter*, and of her ſeveral defects, ſigned by Captain *Mitchel* and all his officers; whence it appeared, that ſhe had ſprung a leak by the ſtern-poſt being looſe, and working with every roll of the ſhip, and by two beams a-midſhips being broken in the orlope; no part of which, as the carpenters reported, could poſſibly be repaired at ſea; that both officers and men had wrought twenty four hours at the pump without intermiſſion, and were at length ſo fatigued that they could continue their labour no longer, but had been forced to deſiſt, with ſeven feet of water in the hold, which covered all their caſks, ſo that they could neither come at freſh water nor proviſion: that they had no maſt ſtanding, except the fore maſt, the mizen maſt, and the mizen-top maſt, nor had they any ſpare maſts to get up in the room of thoſe they had loſt: that the ſhip was, beſides, extremely decayed in every part; for her knees and clamps were all become quite looſe, and her upper works in general were ſo crazy that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down: that her crew was greatly reduced, as there remained alive on board her, officers included, no more than

than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, and that of this whole number only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, several of these too being very infirm.

The Commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in the most pressing want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the strictest enquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared there was no possibility of preserving the *Gloucester* any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships would not be able to free her, could we have spared the whole of our crew to her relief. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken, was the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the *Gloucester*, and the getting out of her as much as we could before she was destroyed. The Commodore therefore immediately sent an order to Captain *Mitchel* to put his people on board the *Centurion*, as expeditiously as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable; and to take out such stores as he could get at whilst the ship could be kept above water. And, as our leak required less attention whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats with as many men as we could spare to Captain *Mitchel's* assistance.

The removing the *Gloucester's* people on board us, and the getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr. *Anson* was extremely desirous to have saved two of her cables and an anchor; but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize money which the *Gloucester* had taken in the *South Seas* was secured and sent on board the *Centurion*: however, the prize goods in the *Gloucester*, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, and were principally the *Centurion's* property, were entirely lost; nor nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt-water. Their sick men,

amounting to near ſeventy, were conveyed into the boats with as much care as the circumſtances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoiſting them into the *Centurion*.

It was the 15th of *Auguſt*, in the evening, before the *Glouceſter* was cleared of every thing that was propoſed to be removed; and, though the hold was now almoſt full of water, yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that ſhe might ſtill ſwim for ſome time, if the calm ſhould continue and the water become ſmooth, it was reſolved ſhe ſhould be burnt; as we knew not how little diſtant we might be at preſent from the Iſland of *Guam*, which was in the poſſeſſion of our enemies, to whom the wreck of ſuch a ſhip would have been no contemptible acquiſition. When ſhe was ſet on fire, Captain *Mitchel* and his officers left her, and came on board the *Centurion*; and we immediately ſtood from the wreck, not without ſome apprehenſions (as we had only a light breeze), that, if ſhe blew up ſoon, the concuſſion of the air might damage our rigging; but ſhe fortunately continued burning the whole night; ſo that, though her guns fired ſucceſſively as the flames reached them, yet it was ſix in the morning, when we were about four leagues diſtant, before ſhe blew up. The report ſhe made upon this occaſion was but ſmall; although the blaſt produced an exceeding black pillar of ſmoke, which ſhot up into the air to a very conſiderable height.

Thus periſhed his Majeſty's ſhip the *Glouceſter*. And now it might have been expected, that, being freed from the embarraſments which her frequent diſaſters had involved us in, we ſhould have proceeded on our way much briſker than we had hitherto done, eſpecially as we had received ſome ſmall addition to our ſtrength, by the taking on board the *Glouceſter's* crew: however, we were ſoon taught that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; and that, notwithſtanding all we had already ſuffered, there remained much greater diſtreſſes, which we were ſtill to ſtruggle with; for the late ſtorm, which had proved ſo fatal to the *Glouceſter*, had driven us to the northward of our intended courſe; and the current ſetting the ſame way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, ſo that we were now in 17 $\frac{1}{2}$° of North latitude, inſtead of being in 13 $\frac{1}{2}$°, which was the parallel we intended to keep, in order to reach the Iſland of *Guam*. As it had been a perfect calm

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for ſome days ſince the ceſſation of the ſtorm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the *Ladrones*, though we ſuppoſed ourſelves not to be far from it; we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without diſcovering them. On this ſuppoſition, the only land we could make would be ſome of the eaſtern parts of *Aſia*, where if we could arrive, we ſhould find the weſtern monſoon in its full force, ſo that it would be impoſſible for the ſtouteſt, beſt-manned ſhip to get in: beſides, this coaſt being between four and five hundred leagues diſtant from us, we, in our languiſhing circumſtances, could expect no other than to be deſtroyed by the ſcurvy, long before the moſt favourable gale could enable us to complete ſo extenſive a navigation; for our deaths were by this time extremely alarming, no day paſſing in which we did not bury eight or ten and ſometimes twelve of our men; and thoſe who had as yet continued healthy, began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the beſt uſe we could of our preſent calm, by employing our carpenters in ſearching after the leak, which, notwithſtanding the little wind we had, was now conſiderable. The carpenters at length diſcovered it to be in the Gunner's fore ſtore-room, where the water ruſhed in under the breaſt hook, on each ſide of the ſtem: but, though they found where it was, they agreed it was impoſſible to ſtop it till they could come at it on on the outſide, which was evidently a matter not to be attempted till we ſhould arrive in port: however, they did the beſt they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a conſiderable relief to us.

We hitherto conſidered the calm which ſucceeded the ſtorm, and which had now continued for ſome days, as a very great misfortune; ſince the currents were all the time driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby riſqued the miſſing of the *Ladrones*, which we at preſent conceived ourſelves to be very near; but, when a gale ſprung up, our condition was ſtill worſe; for it blew from the S. W. and conſequently was oppoſite to the courſe we wanted to ſteer; and though it ſoon veered to the N. E. yet this ſerved only to tantalize us, as it returned back again in a very ſhort time to its old quarter: however, on the 22d of *Auguſt*, we had the ſatisfaction to find that the current was ſhifted; and had ſet us to the ſouthward: and

the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the diſcovery of two Iſlands on the weſtern board. This gave us all great joy, and raiſed our drooping ſpirits; for till then an univerſal dejection had ſeized us, and we almoſt deſpaired of ever ſeeing land again. The neareſt of theſe Iſlands, as we learnt afterwards, was *Anatacan*; this we judged to be full fifteen leagues from us; it ſeemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length: the other was the Iſland of *Serigan*; which had rather the appearance of a rock, than of a place we could hope to anchor at. The view of theſe Iſlands is inſerted at the top of the thirty-third plate. We were extremely impatient to get in with the neareſt Iſland, where we expected to find anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreſhing our ſick; but the wind proved ſo variable all day, and there was ſo little of it, that we advanced towards it but ſlowly; however, by the next morning, we were got ſo far to the weſtward, that we were in ſight of a third Iſland, which was that of *Paxaros*, and which is marked in the chart only as a rock. This was very ſmall, and the land low, ſo that we had paſſed within leſs than a mile of it, in the night, without obſerving it. At noon, being then not four miles from the Iſland of *Anatacan*, the boat was ſent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little ſolicitous for her return, as we conceived our fate to depend upon the report we ſhould receive; for the other two Iſlands were obviouſly enough incapable of furniſhing us with any aſſiſtance, and we knew not that there were any beſides which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back; and the crew informed us that there was no road for a ſhip to anchor in, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all, except one ſmall ſpot, not leſs than fifty fathom in depth; that on that ſpot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the ſhore; and that the bank was ſteep too, and could not be depended on: they further told us, that they had landed on the Iſland, not without ſome difficulty on account of the greatneſs of the ſwell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane, or ruſh; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the ſoil was good, and abounded with groves of coco-nut trees.

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The account of the impoſſibility of anchoring at this Iſland occaſioned a general melancholy on board, for we conſidered it as little leſs than the prelude to our deſtruction; and our deſpondency was increaſed by a diſappointment we met with the ſucceeding night; when, as we were plying under top-ſails, with an intention of getting nearer to the Iſland, and of ſending our boat on ſhore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreſhment of our ſick, the wind proved ſqually, and blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that we were driven too far to the ſouthward, to venture to ſend off our boat. And now the only poſſible circumſtance that could ſecure the few which remained alive from periſhing, was the accidental falling in with ſome other of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, better prepared for our accommodation; but, as our knowledge of theſe Iſlands was extremely imperfect, we were to truſt entirely to chance for our guidance; only, as they are all of them uſually laid down near the ſame meridian, and we conceived thoſe we had already ſeen to be part of them, we concluded to ſtand to the ſouthward, as the moſt probable means of diſcovering the reſt. Thus, with the moſt gloomy perſuaſion of our approaching deſtruction, we ſtood from the Iſland of *Anatacan*, having all of us the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions (and thoſe not ill grounded) either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of being deſtroyed with the ſhip, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might, in a ſhort time, be expected to founder.

CHAP. II.

Our arrival at Tinian, *and an account of the Iſland, and of our proceedings there, till the* Centurion *drove out to ſea.*

IT was the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1742, in the morning, when we loſt ſight of the Iſland of *Anatacan*, dreading that it was the laſt land we ſhould ever fix our eyes on: but the next morning we diſcovered three other Iſlands to the eaſtward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues diſtant from us. Theſe were, as we afterwards learnt, the Iſlands of *Saypan*, *Tinian*, and *Aguigan*. We immediately ſteered towards *Tinian*, which was the middlemoſt of the three; but we had ſo much of calms and light airs, that though we

were helped forwards by the currents, yet on the morrow, at day-break, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it: however, we kept on our courſe, and about ten o'clock we perceived a Proa under ſail to the ſouthward, between *Tinian* and *Aguigan*. As we imagined from hence, that theſe Iſlands were inhabited, and knew that the *Spaniards* had always a force at *Guam*, we took the neceſſary precautions for our own ſecurity: and endeavoured to prevent the enemy as much as poſſible from making an advantage of our preſent wretched circumſtances, of which we feared they would be ſufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ſhip. We therefore muſtered all our hands, who were capable of ſtanding to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape-ſhot; and, that we might the more readily procure ſome intelligence of the ſtate of theſe Iſlands, we ſhewed *Spaniſh* colours, and hoiſted a red flag at the fore-topmaſt-head, hoping thereby to give our ſhip the appearance of the *Manila* galeon, and to decoy ſome of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourſelves, and ſtanding towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to ſend the cutter in ſhore, to find out a proper birth for the ſhip; and we ſoon perceived that a Proa put off from the Iſland to meet the cutter, fully perſuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the *Manila* ſhip. As we ſaw the cutter returning with the Proa in tow, we inſtantly ſent the pinnace to receive the Proa and the priſoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a *Spaniard* and four *Indians*, which were the people taken in the Proa: and the *Spaniard* being immediately examined as to the produce and circumſtances of this Iſland of *Tinian*, his account of it ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine hopes; for he informed us, that though it was uninhabited (which in itſelf, conſidering our preſent defenceleſs condition, was a convenience not to be deſpiſed), yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the moſt cultivated country. In particular, he aſſured us, that there was plenty of very good water; that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild on the Iſland, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded ſweet and ſour oranges, limes, lemons, and coco-nuts in great abundance, beſides a fruit peculiar to the Iſlands, which

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ſerved inſtead of bread; that, from the quantity and goodneſs of the proviſions produced here, the *Spaniards* at *Guam* made uſe of it as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon; and that he himſelf was a Serjeant of the garriſon, who was ſent hither with twenty-two *Indians* to jerk beef, which he was to load for *Guam* on board a ſmall bark of about fifteen ton, which lay at anchor near the ſhore.

This relation was received by us with inexpreſſible joy: part of it we were ourſelves able to verify on the ſpot, as we were by this time near enough to diſcover ſeveral numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the Iſland; and we did not any ways doubt the reſt of his narration; ſince the appearance of the ſhore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our neceſſities might be there fully relieved, and our diſeaſed recovered, but that, amidſt thoſe pleaſing ſcenes which were then in view, we might procure ourſelves ſome amuſement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone; for the proſpect of the country did by no means reſemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place; but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and ſtately woods had been laid out together with great ſkill, and where the whole had been ſo artfully combined, and ſo judiciouſly adapted to the ſlopes of the hills and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a moſt ſtriking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus (an event not unlike what we had already ſeen) we were forced upon the moſt deſirable and ſalutary meaſures by accidents, which at firſt ſight we conſidered as the greateſt of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our courſe (a circumſtance which at that time gave us the moſt terrible apprehenſions), we ſhould, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful Iſland, and conſequently we ſhould have miſſed of that place, where alone all our wants could be moſt amply relieved, our ſick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreſhed, and enabled to put again to ſea.

The *Spaniſh* Serjeant, from whom we received the account of the Iſland, having informed us that there were ſome *Indians* on ſhore, under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board; we were deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent the

Indians from eſcaping, ſince they would certainly have given the Governor of *Guam* intelligence of our arrival; we therefore immediately diſpatched the pinnace to ſecure the bark, as the Serjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom; but, though it was almoſt calm, and whatever vigour and ſpirit was to be found on board was doubtleſs exerted to the utmoſt on this pleaſing occaſion, when, after having kept the ſea for ſome months, we were going to take poſſeſſion of this little paradiſe; yet we were full five hours in furling our ſails. It is is true, we were ſomewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace, which were ſent on ſhore; but it is not leſs true, that, including thoſe abſent with the boats, and ſome Negroes and *Indians* priſoners, all the hands we could muſter capable of ſtanding at a gun amounted to no more than ſeventy-one, moſt of which too were incapable of duty, except on the greateſt emergencies. This, inconſiderable as it may appear, was the whole force we could collect, in our preſent enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the *Centurion*, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Tryal*, which, when we departed from *England*, conſiſted all together of near a thouſand hands.

When we had furled our ſails, our people were allowed to repoſe themſelves during the remainder of the night, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone: but in the morning a party was ſent on ſhore well-armed, of which I myſelf was one, to make ourſelves maſters of the landing-place, ſince we were not certain what oppoſition might be made by the *Indians* on the Iſland: we landed however without difficulty; for the *Indians* having perceived, by our ſeizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the Iſland. We found on ſhore many huts, which they had inhabited, and which ſaved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of theſe huts, which the *Indians* made uſe of for a ſtore-houſe, was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of ſome bales of jerked beef, which had been left in it, and converted it into an hoſpital for our ſick, who as ſoon as the place was ready to receive them were brought on ſhore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight. Numbers of theſe were ſo very helpleſs, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats

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to the hoſpital upon our ſhoulders, in which humane employment (as before at *Juan Fernandez*) the Commodore himſelf, and every one of his officers, were engaged without diſtinction; and, notwithſtanding the extreme debility and the dying aſpects of the greateſt part of our ſick, it is almoſt incredible how ſoon they began to feel the ſalutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not loſe above ten men more during the whole two months we ſtaid here: but our diſeaſed in general reaped ſo much benefit from the fruits of the Iſland, particularly thoſe of the acid kind, that in a week's time there were but few of them who were not ſo far recovered as to be able to move about without help.

Being now in ſome ſort eſtabliſhed at this place, we were enabled more diſtinctly to examine its qualities and productions; and, that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future navigators be better apprized of the conveniencies we met with, I ſhall, before I proceed any farther in the hiſtory of our own adventures, throw together the moſt intereſting particulars that came to our knowledge, relating to the ſituation, ſoil, produce, and accommodations of this Iſland of *Tinian*.

This Iſland lies in the latitude of 15°: 8′ North, and longitude from *Acapulco* 114°: 50′ Weſt. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and being withal ſomewhat ſandy, it is thereby the leſs diſpoſed to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation; and hence the meadows and the bottoms of the woods are much neater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land roſe in gentle ſlopes from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the Iſland, though the general courſe of its aſcent was often interrupted by vallies of an eaſy deſcent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. Theſe vallies, and the gradual ſwellings of the ground, which their different combinations gave riſe to, were moſt beautifully diverſified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns, which coaſted each other, and traverſed the Iſland in large tracts. The woods conſiſted of tall and well-ſpread trees, the greateſt part of them celebrated either for their aſpect or their fruit; whilſt the lawns were uſually of a conſiderable

breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, it being compoſed of a very fine trefoil, which was intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods too were in many places open, and free from all buſhes and underwood, ſo that they terminated on the lawns with a well defined out-line, where neither ſhrubs nor weeds were to be ſeen; but the neatneſs of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a conſiderable diſtance, under the the hollow ſhade formed by the trees. Hence aroſe a great number of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, according to the different blendings of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other, as they ſpread themſelves differently through the vallies, and over the ſlopes and declivities in which the place abounded. Nor were the allurements of *Tinian* confined to the excellency of its landſkips only; ſince the fortunate animals, which during the greateſt part of the year are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake in ſome meaſure of the romantic caſt of the Iſland, and are no ſmall addition to its wonderful ſcenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world; as they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the chearfulneſs and beauty of the place. The cattle on *Tinian*, we computed, were at leaſt ten thouſand; we had no diſficulty in getting near them, for they were not at all ſhy of us. Our firſt method of killing them was ſhooting them; but at laſt, when, by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to huſband our ammunition, our men ran them down with eaſe. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was believed by us to be much more eaſily digeſted than any we had ever met with. The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewiſe run down with little trouble; for they could ſcarce fly farther than a hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them to ſuch a degree, that they could not readily riſe again; ſo that, aided by the openneſs of the woods, we could at all times furniſh ourſelves with whatever number we wanted: beſides the cattle and the poultry,

poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: theſe were moſt excellent food; but, as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to ſhoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the Iſland, amaſſing proviſions for the garriſon of *Guam*. As theſe dogs had been purpoſely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but, though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with ſo much fury, that they frequently deſtroyed them, whence by degrees we loſt the greateſt part of them.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellency of it's freſh proviſions, but was as much perhaps to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions, which were moſt fortunately adapted to the cure of the ſea ſcurvy, the diſeaſe which had ſo terribly reduced us; for in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of coco-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the ſame tree: there were beſides, guavas, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to theſe Iſlands, called by the *Indians Rhymay*, but by us the *Bread Fruit*, for it was conſtantly eaten by us during our ſtay upon the Iſland inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it that no ſhip's bread was expended in that whole interval. It grew upon a tree, which is ſomewhat lofty, and which towards the top divides into large and ſpreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itſelf is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather elliptical than round; it is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each of them grows ſingly, and not in cluſters. This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed when it is full grown, but ſtill green; in which ſtate, after it is properly prepared by being roaſted in the embers, its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpongy. As it ripens, it becomes ſofter and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a luſcious taſte and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is eſteemed unwholſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. I

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ſhall only add, that it is deſcribed both by *Dampier*, and in *Ray's Hiſtory of Plants:* and that in the view of the watering-place, Plate XXXIV, there is drawn one of the trees bearing this fruit, being that marked with the letter *(c)*. Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, ſuch as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purſlain, mint, ſcurvy graſs, and ſorrel; all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerneſs, prompted thereto by the ſtrong inclination, which, in ſcorbutic diſorders, nature never fails of exciting for thoſe powerful ſpecifics.

It will eaſily be conceived, from what hath been already ſaid, that our chear upon this Iſland was in ſome degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having forfeited thoſe who eat of them; but, conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage, eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for it is to be remembered, that near the centre of the Iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew: not to mention the whiſtling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

It may now perhaps be wondered at, that an Iſland ſo exquiſitely furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and ſo well adapted not only to the ſubſiſtence but likewiſe to the enjoyment of mankind, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, eſpecially as it is in the neighbourhood of other Iſlands, which in ſome meaſure depend upon this for their ſupport. To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that it is not fifty years ſince the Iſland was depopulated. The *Indians* we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly the three Iſlands of *Tinian*, *Rota*, and *Guam*, were all full of inhabitants; and that *Tinian* alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls: but a ſickneſs raging amongſt theſe Iſlands, which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the *Spaniards*, to recruit their numbers at *Guam*, which were extremely diminiſhed by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of *Tinian* thither; where, languiſhing for their former habitations

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and their cuſtomary method of life, the greateſt of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever ſhown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it ſhould ſeem, from what has been already ſaid, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of *Tinian*.

Theſe poor *Indians* might reaſonably have expected, at the great diſtance from *Spain* where they were placed, to have eſcaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, ſo fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race: But it ſeems their remote ſituation could not protect them from ſharing in the common deſtruction of the weſtern world; all the advantage they received from their diſtance, being only to periſh an age or two later. It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of *Tinian*, who were baniſhed to *Guam*, and who died there pining for their native home, was ſo conſiderable as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent aſſertion of our priſoners, and the commodiouſneſs of the Iſland, and its great fertility, there are ſtill remains to be met with on the place, which ſhew it to have been once extremely populous; for there are, in all parts of the Iſland, many ruins of a very particular kind: theſe uſually conſiſt of two rows of ſquare pyramidical pillars, each pillar being about ſix feet from the next, and the diſtance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themſelves are about five feet ſquare at the baſe, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a ſemi-globe, with the flat ſurface upwards; the whole of the pillars and ſemi-globe is ſolid, being compoſed of ſand and ſtone cemented together, and plaſtered over. This odd fabric will be better underſtood, by inſpecting the view of the watering-place already referred to; where an aſſemblage of theſe pillars are drawn, and is denoted by the letter *(a)*. If the account our priſoners gave us of theſe ſtructures was true, the Iſland muſt indeed have been moſt extraordinary well peopled; ſince they aſſured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings ſet apart for thoſe *Indians* only, who had engaged in ſome religious vow; monaſtic inſtitutions being often to be met with in many Pagan nations. However, if theſe ruins were originally the baſis of the common dwelling-houſes of the natives, their numbers muſt have been conſiderable; for in many

many parts of the Iſland they are extremely thick planted, and ſufficiently evince the great plenty of its former inhabitants. But to return to the preſent ſtate of the Iſland.

Having briefly recounted the conveniences of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and proviſions, the neatneſs of its lawns, the ſtatelineſs, freſhneſs, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its ſurface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded; I muſt now obſerve that all theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent ſhowers which fell there; for theſe, inſtead of the heavy continued rains which in ſome countries render a great part of the year ſo unpleaſing, were uſually of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration. Hence they were extremely grateful and refreſhing, and were perhaps one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us, in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This effect was indeed remarkable, ſince thoſe amongſt our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, uſed to make but one moderate repaſt a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for, inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, each of them too ſo prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a ſurfeit. And yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded to the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion; for after having, according to the cuſtom of the Iſland, made a large beef breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſirable, though ſomewhat tardy, incident.

After giving theſe large encomiums to this Iſland, in which, however, I conceive, I have not done it juſtice; it is neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak of thoſe circumſtances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility. And firſt, with reſpect to its water. I muſt own, that, before I had ſeen this ſpot, I did not conceive that the abſence of running water, of which it is entirely deſtitute, could have been ſo well replaced by any other means, as it is in this Iſland; ſince, though there are no ſtreams, yet the water of the wells and ſprings, which are to be met with every where

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near the ſurface, is extremely good; and in the midſt of the Iſland there are two or three conſiderable pieces of excellent water, the turf of whoſe banks was as clean, as even, and as regularly diſpoſed, as if they had been baſons purpoſely made for the decoration of the place. It muſt however be confeſſed, that, with regard to the beauty of the proſpect, the want of rills and ſtreams is a very great defect, not to be compenſated either by large pieces of ſtanding water, or by the neighbourhood of the ſea, though that, from the ſmallneſs of the Iſland, generally makes a part of every extenſive landſcape.

As to the reſidence upon the Iſland, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vaſt numbers of muſcatos, and various other ſpecies of flies, together with an inſect called a tick; this, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently faſten upon our limbs and bodies, and, if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the ſkin, and raiſe a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes, and ſcorpions, which we ſuppoſed were venomous, though none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little ſecurity there is in ſome ſeaſons for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ſhips of burthen is at the S. W. end of the Iſland. As a direction for readily finding it, there is in the thirty-fifth plate a very accurate view of the S. W. ſide of the Iſland, where *(a)* is the peak of *Saypan*, ſeen over the northern part of *Tinian*, and bearing N. N. E. ½ E. And *(b)* is the anchoring place, diſtant eight miles from the obſerver. And as an additional aſſiſtance, there is alſo added in the thirty-ſixth plate, a near view of the anchoring place itſelf, which repreſents it ſo exactly, that none can poſſibly miſtake it. Here the *Centurion* anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, about a mile and a half diſtant from the ſhore, oppoſite to a ſandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of ſharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of *June* to the middle of *October*, render it a very unſafe anchorage. This is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons, when near the full and change of the moon; but more particularly at the change, the wind is uſually variable all round the compaſs, and ſeldom fails to blow with

with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables are not to be confided in: what adds to the danger, at theſe times, is the exceſſive rapidity of the tide of flood, which ſets to the S. E. between this Iſland and that of *Aguigaun*, a ſmall Iſlet near the ſouthern extremity of *Tinian*, which is repreſented in the general chart, hereafter inſerted, only by a dot. This tide runs at firſt with a vaſt head and overfall of water, occaſioning ſuch a hollow and overgrown ſea as is ſcarcely to be conceived; ſo that (as will be more particularly recited in the ſequel) we were under the dreadful apprehenſions of being pooped by it, though we were in a ſixty gun ſhip. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of *October* to the middle of *June*, there is a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather; when, if the cables are but well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of their being even rubbed: ſo that, during all that interval, it is as ſecure a road as could be wiſhed for. I ſhall only add, that the anchoring bank is very ſhelving, and ſtretches along the S. W. end of the Iſland, and is entirely free from ſhoals, except a reef of rocks, which is viſible, and lies about half a mile from the ſhore, affording a narrow paſſage into a ſmall ſandy bay, which is the only place where boats can poſſibly land. Having given this account of the Iſland and its produce, it is neceſſary to return to our own hiſtory.

Our firſt undertaking after our arrival was the removal of our ſick on ſhore, as hath been related. Whilſt we were thus employed, four of the *Indians* on the Iſland, being part of the *Spaniſh* Serjeant's detachment, came and ſurrendered themſelves to us, ſo that with thoſe we took in the Proa we had now eight of them in our cuſtody. One of the four who ſubmitted undertook to ſhew us the moſt convenient places for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that ſervice; but, one of them unwarily truſting the *Indian* with his firelock and piſtol, the *Indian* eſcaped with them into the woods. His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehenſive of ſuffering for this perfidy of their comrade; and therefore begged leave to ſend one of their own party into the country, who they engaged ſhould both bring back the arms, and perſuade the whole detachment from *Guam* to ſubmit to us. The Commodore granted their requeſt; and one of them was diſpatched on this errand, who returned

next

next day, and brought back the fireleck and piſtol, but aſſured us, he had found them in a path-way in the wood, and proteſted that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: this report had ſo little the air of truth, that we ſuſpected there was ſome treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongſt them, we immediately ordered all the *Indians* who were in our power on board the ſhip, and did not permit them to go any more on ſhore.

When our ſick were well ſettled on the Iſland, we employed all the hands that could be ſpared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, ſeveral fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded. This being completed, our next occupation was our leak, and, in order to raiſe it out of water, we, on the firſt of *September*, began to get the guns aft, to bring the ſhip by the ſtern; and now the Carpenters, being able to come at it on the outſide, they ripped off what was left of the old ſheathing, caulked all the ſeams on both ſides the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new ſheathed the bows to the ſurface of the water. By this means we conceived the defect was ſufficiently ſecured; but, upon our beginning to return the guns to their ports, we had the mortification to perceive that the water ruſhed into the ſhip in the old place, with as much violence as ever. Hereupon we were neceſſitated to begin again; and, that our ſecond attempt might be more ſucceſsful, we cleared the fore ſtore room, and ſent a hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the ſmall *Spaniſh* bark we had ſeized here, by which means we raiſed the ſhip about three feet out of the water forwards. The Carpenters now ripped off the ſheathing lower down, new caulked all the ſeams, and afterwards laid on new ſheathing; and then, ſuppoſing the leak to be effectually ſtopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upper deck guns were ſcarcely replaced, when, to our amazement, it burſt out again. As we durſt not cut away the lining within board, leſt a but-end or a plank might ſtart, and we might go down immediately, we had no other reſource left than chincing and caulking within board. Indeed by this means the leak was ſtopped for ſome time; but when our guns were all fixed in their ports, and our ſtores were

were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the ſtem, where one of the bolts was driven in: we, on this, deſiſted from all further efforts, being at laſt well aſſured, that the defect was in the ſtem itſelf, and that it was not to be remedied till we ſhould have an opportunity of heaving down.

In the firſt part of the month of *September*, ſeveral of our ſick were tolerably recovered by their reſidence on ſhore; and, on the 12th of *September*, all thoſe who were ſo far relieved, ſince their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board the ſhip: and then the Commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, had a tent erected for him on ſhore, where he went with the view of ſtaying a few days to eſtabliſh his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be truſted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place, where his tent was pitched on this occaſion, was near the well whence we got all our water, and was indeed a moſt elegant ſpot. A view of it hath been already referred to, under the title of the watering-place, where *(b)* is the Commodore's tent, and *(d)* the well we watered at.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the Iſland, we began to ſend our caſks on ſhore to be fitted up, which till this time could not be done, for the Coopers were not well enough to work. We likewiſe weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we ſuſpected had by this time received conſiderable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater ſecurity, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; beſides which they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and ſeven fathom from the ſervice, with a good rounding of a $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch halſer; and, being perſuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmoſt foreſight, we to all theſe precautions added that of lowering the main and fore yard cloſe down, that, in caſe of blowing weather, the wind might have leſs power upon the ſhip, to make her ride a ſtrain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of *September*, when riding ſafe that and the three ſucceeding days (though the weather

weather proved very ſqually and uncertain) we flattered ourſelves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm. In this conjuncture, we ſhould have been extremely glad that the Commodore and the reſt of our people on ſhore, which were the greateſt part of our hands, had been on board us, ſince our only hopes of ſafety ſeemed to depend on our putting immediately to ſea; but all communication with the ſhore was now abſolutely cut off, for there was no poſſibility that a boat could live, ſo that we were neceſſitated to ride it out, till our cables parted. Indeed we were not long expecting this dreadful event, for the ſmall bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ſhip ſwung off to the beſt bower; and, as the night came on, the violence of the wind ſtill increaſed; though, notwithſtanding its inexpreſſible fury, the tide ran with ſo much rapidity, as to prevail over it: for the tide, which ſet to the northward at the beginning of the hurricane, turning ſuddenly to the ſouthward about ſix in the evening, forced the ſhip before it, in deſpight of the ſtorm, which blew upon the beam. The ſea now broke moſt ſurpriſingly all around us, and a large tumbling ſwell threatened to poop us; by which the long-boat, at this time moored a-ſtern, was on a ſudden canted ſo high, that it broke the tranſom of the Commodore's gallery, whoſe cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtleſs have riſen as high as the taffarel, had it not been for the ſtroke, which ſtove the boat all to pieces; and yet the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruiſed, was ſaved almoſt by miracle. About eight, the tide ſlackened; but the wind not abating, the beſt bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. Our ſheet anchor, which was the only one we had left, was inſtantly cut from the bow; but, before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and, after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with ſixty fathom of line: this was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this preſſing danger, Mr. *Saumarez*, our firſt Lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and lights to be ſhewn, as a ſignal to the Commodore of our diſtreſs; and in

a ſhort time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night exceſſively dark, a ſtrong guſt, attended with rain and lightening, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to ſea, leaving behind us on the Iſland Mr. *Anſon*, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen perſons. Thus were we all, both at ſea and on ſhore, reduced to the utmoſt deſpair by this cataſtrophe; thoſe on ſhore conceiving they had no means left them ever to depart from the Iſland, whilſt we on board, being utterly unprepared to ſtruggle with the fury of the ſeas and winds we were now expoſed to, expected each moment to be our laſt.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions at Tinian *after the departure of the* Centurion.

THE ſtorm, which drove the *Centurion* to ſea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore or any of the people on ſhore to hear the guns which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the frequent glare of the lightening had prevented the exploſions from being obſerved: ſo that, when at day-break it was perceived from the ſhore that the ſhip was miſſing, there was the utmoſt conſternation amongſt them: for much the greateſt part of them immediately concluded that ſhe was loſt, and entreated the Commodore that the boat might be ſent round the Iſland to look after the wreck: and thoſe who believed her *life*, had ſcarcely any expectation that ſhe would ever be able to make the Iſland again; ſince the wind continued to blow ſtrong at eaſt, and they well knew how poorly ſhe was manned and provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale. In either of theſe views, their ſituation was indeed moſt deplorable: for if the *Centurion* was loſt, or ſhould be incapable of returning, there appeared no poſſibility of their ever getting off the iſland; as they were at leaſt ſix hundred leagues from *Macao*, which was their neareſt port; and they were Maſters of no other veſſel than the ſmall *Spaniſh* bark, of about fifteen ton, ſeized at their firſt arrival, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the

Iſland by the caſual arrival of any other ſhip was altogether deſperate; as perhaps no *European* ſhip had ever anchored here before, and it were madneſs to expect that like incidents ſhould ſend another here in a hundred ages to come: ſo that their deſponding thoughts could only ſuggeſt to them the melancholy proſpect of ſpending the remainder of their days on this Iſland, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domeſtic endearments.

Nor was this the worſt they had to fear: for they had reaſon to apprehend, that the Governor of *Guam*, when he ſhould be informed of their circumſtances, might ſend a force ſufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that Iſland; and then the moſt favourable treatment they could expect would be to be detained priſoners during life; ſince, from the known policy and cruelty of the *Spaniards* in their diſtant ſettlements, it was rather to be ſuppoſed, that the Governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commiſſions (all of them being on board the *Centurion*) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy reflections, Mr. *Anſon*, though he always kept up his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs, had doubtleſs his ſhare of diſquietude. However, having ſoon projected a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation, he firſt communicated it to ſome of the moſt intelligent perſons about him; and, having ſatisfied himſelf that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of it. With this view he repreſented to them how little foundation there was for their apprehenſions of the *Centurion's* being loſt: that he ſhould have preſumed, they had been all of them better acquainted with ſea-affairs, than to give way to the impreſſion of ſo chimerical a fright; that he doubted not but, if they would ſeriouſly conſider what ſuch a ſhip was capable of enduring, they would confeſs there was not the leaſt probability of her having periſhed: that he was not without hopes that ſhe might return in a few days; but, if ſhe did not, the worſt that could be imagined was, that ſhe was driven ſo far to the leeward of the Iſland that ſhe could not regain it, and that ſhe would conſequently be obliged to bear away for *Macao* on the coaſt of *China*: that, as it was neceſſary to be prepared

prepared againſt all events, he had, in this caſe, conſidered of a method of carrying them off the Iſland, and of joining their old ſhip the *Centurion* again at *Macao:* that this method was to hale the *Spaniſh* bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to *China:* that he had conſulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this propoſal was very feaſible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, but the united reſolution and induſtry of the whole body: and having added, that for his own part he would ſhare the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the Commodore, himſelf, was ready to ſubmit to; he concluded with repreſenting to them the importance of ſaving time; urging that, in order to be the better ſecured againſt all events, it was expedient to ſet about the work immediately, and to take it for granted, that the *Centurion* would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's ſecret opinion); ſince, if ſhe did return, they ſhould only throw away a few days application; but, if ſhe did not, their ſituation, and the ſeaſon of the year, required their utmoſt diſpatch.

Theſe remonſtrances, though not without effect, did not at firſt operate ſo powerfully as Mr. *Anſon* could have wiſhed: he indeed raiſed their ſpirits, by ſhewing them the poſſibility of their getting away, of which they had before deſpaired: but then, from their confidence in this reſource, they grew leſs apprehenſive of their ſituation, gave a greater ſcope to their hopes, and flattered themſelves that the *Centurion* would be able to regain the Iſland, and prevent the execution of the Commodore's ſcheme, which they could eaſily foreſee would be a work of conſiderable labour: hence it was ſome days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at laſt, being convinced of the impoſſibility of the ſhip's return, they betook themſelves zealouſly to the different taſks allotted them, and were as induſtrious and as eager as their Commander could deſire; punctually aſſembling by day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were diſtributed to their different employments, which they followed with unuſual vigour till night came on.

And here I muſt interrupt the courſe of this tranſaction, to relate an incident, which for a ſhort time gave Mr. *Anſon* more concern than all the preceding diſaſters. A few days after

after the ſhip was driven off, ſome of the people on ſhore cried out, *a ſail.* This ſpread a general joy, every one ſuppoſing that it was the ſhip returning; but preſently a ſecond ſail was deſcried, which quite deſtroyed their firſt conjecture, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glaſs towards them, and ſaw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him, that the *Centurion* was gone to the bottom, and that theſe were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this ſudden and unexpected ſuggeſtion wrought on him ſo powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without ſpeaking to any one) inſtantly to retire to his tent, where he paſſed ſome bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ſhip was loſt, and that now all his views of further diſtreſſing the enemy, and of ſtill ſignalizing his expedition by ſome important exploit, were at an end.

However, he was ſoon relieved fron theſe diſturbing thoughts, by diſcovering that the two boats in the offing were *Indian* proas; and, perceiving that they made towards the ſhore, he directed every appearance that could give them any ſuſpicion to be removed, concealing his people in the adjacent thickets, ready to ſecure the *Indians* when they ſhould land: but, after the proas had ſtood in within a quarter of a mile of the beach, they ſuddenly ſtopt ſhort, and remaining there motionleſs for near two hours, they then got under ſail again, and ſteered to the ſouthward. Let us now return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their ſafety depended; we ſhall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much conſequence, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the neceſſary materials and tools were to be had, the embarraſſment would have been much leſs; but ſome of theſe tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no ſmall degree of invention to ſupply all theſe deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark ſhould be completed, this was but one article; and there were others of equal weight which were to be well conſidered; theſe were, the rigging it, the victualling it, and laſtly the navigating it, for the ſpace of

ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, through unknown ſeas, where no one of the company had ever paſſed before; and in theſe particulars ſuch obſtacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the poſſibility of the whole enterpriſe would have fallen to the ground, and their utmoſt induſtry and efforts muſt have been fruitleſs. Of all theſe circumſtances I ſhall make a ſhort recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters both of the *Glouceſter* and of the *Tryal*, with their cheſts of tools, were on ſhore when the ſhip drove out to ſea; the ſmith too was on ſhore, and had with him his forge and ſeveral of his tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; ſo that he was incapable of working, and without his aſſiſtance they could not hope to proceed with their deſign. The firſt attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows; but in this they were for ſome time puzzled by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in ſufficient plenty, and they had found a hogſhead of lime, which the *Indians* or *Spaniards* had prepared for their own uſe, they tanned a few hides with this lime; and though we may ſuppoſe the workmanſhip to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus procured anſwered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows, to which a gun-barrel ſerved for a pipe, had no other inconvenience, than that of being ſomewhat ſtrong ſcented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilſt the ſmith was preparing the neceſſary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and ſawing them into planks; and this being the moſt laborious taſk, the Commodore wrought at it himſelf for the encouragement of his people: but there being neither blocks nor cordage ſufficient for tackles to haul the bark on ſhore, this occaſioned a new difficulty; however, it was at length reſolved to get her upon rollers, ſince for theſe the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely well fitted; as its ſmoothneſs and circular turn prevented much labour, and ſuited it to the purpoſe with very little workmanſhip. A number of theſe trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the inſertion of the hand ſpikes; and in the mean time a dry dock was dug, to receive the bark, and ways were laid from thence quite into the ſea to facilitate the bringing her up. Neither were theſe the whole of their occupa-

occupations, ſince, beſides thoſe who were thus buſied in preparing meaſures towards the future enlargement of the bark, a party was conſtantly ordered to kill and provide proviſions for the reſt: and though, in theſe various employments, ſome of which demanded conſiderable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confuſion and delay; yet, good order being once eſtabliſhed, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men, I preſume, were not the leſs tractable for their want of ſpirituous liquors; for, there being neither wine nor brandy on ſhore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their conſtant drink; and this, though extremely pleaſant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very temperate and orderly.

The main work now proceeding ſucceſsfully, the officers began to conſider of all the articles which would be neceſſary to the fitting out the bark for the ſea: on this conſultation it was found, that the tents on ſhore, and the ſpare cordage accidentally left there by the *Centurion*, together with the ſails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would ſerve to rig her indifferently well, when ſhe was lengthened: and as they had tallow in plenty, they propoſed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was not ill adapted to that purpoſe; ſo that, with reſpect to her equipment, ſhe would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her ſize; for, as they could not make her quite forty ton burthen, ſhe would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and ſhe would have been ſo top-heavy, that, if they were all at the ſame time ordered upon deck, there would be no ſmall hazard of her overſetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the ſize already propoſed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was conſidered and regulated, the next eſſential point to be thought on was, how to procure a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loſs what expedient to have recourſe to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore; their bread fruit, which would not keep at ſea, having all along ſupplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no ſalt to cure beef for a ſea-ſtore, nor would meat take ſalt in that

climate. Indeed, they had preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly diſproportioned to the run of near ſix hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they ſhould have on board. It was at laſt, however, reſolved to put on board as many cocoa-nuts as they poſſibly could, to prolong to the utmoſt their jerked beef by a very ſparing diſtribution of it, and to endeavour to ſupply their want of bread by rice; to furniſh themſelves with which, it was propoſed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the Iſland of *Rota*, where they were told that the *Spaniards* had large plantations of rice, under the care of the *Indian* inhabitants: but, as this laſt meaſure was to be executed by force, it became neceſſary to examine what ammunition had been left on ſhore, and to preſerve it carefully; and, on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find that their firelocks would be of little ſervice to them, ſince all the powder that could be collected, by the ſtricteſt ſearch, did not amount to more than ninety charges, which was conſiderably ſhort of one a-piece to each of the company, and was indeed a very ſlender ſtock of ammunition for ſuch as were to eat no grain or bread, during a whole month, except what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the moſt alarming circumſtance, and, which, without the providential interpoſition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their ſchemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the veſſel was ſettled in a few days; and this being done, it was not difficult to frame ſome eſtimation of the time neceſſary to complete her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would conſider the courſe they were to ſteer, and the land they were to make. Theſe reflections led them to the diſheartening diſcovery, that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the Iſland. Indeed, the Commodore had brought a pocket-compaſs on ſhore for his own uſe, but Lieutenant *Brett* had borrowed it to determine the poſition of the neighbouring Iſlands, and he had been driven to ſea in the *Centurion* without returning it.

And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on ſhore; ſince, as it was of no uſe on land, there could be no reaſon for bringing it from on board the ſhip. There were now eight days elapſed, ſince the departure of the

the *Centurion*, and yet they were not in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity: at laſt, in rummaging a cheſt belonging to the *Spaniſh* bark, they diſcovered a ſmall compaſs, which, though little better than the toys uſually made for the amuſement of ſchool-boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure. And a few days after, by a ſimilar piece of good fortune, they met with a quadrant on the ſea-ſhore, which had been thrown over board amongſt other lumber belonging to the dead: the quadrant was eagerly ſeized; but on examination it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore in its preſent ſtate was altogether uſeleſs; however, fortune ſtill continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a perſon through curioſity pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on ſhore, found therein ſome vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and upon trial anſwered to a ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

When now all theſe obſtacles were in ſome degree removed (which were always as much as poſſible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiſs with the apprehenſion of labouring to no purpoſe), the buſineſs proceeded very ſucceſsfully and vigorouſly: the neceſſary iron-work was in great forwardneſs; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the moſt exquiſite performances of the ſawyer's art, were yet ſufficient for the purpoſe) were all prepared; ſo that, on the 6th of *October*, being the 14th day from the departure of the ſhip, they hauled the bark on ſhore, and on the two ſucceeding days ſhe was ſawn aſunder, though with the caution not to cut her planks: and her two parts being ſeparated the proper diſtance from each other, and the materials being all ready beforehand, they, the next day, being the 9th of *October*, went on with no ſmall diſpatch in their propoſed enlargement of her; whence by this time they had all their future operations ſo fairly in view, and were ſo much maſters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of *November* for the day of their puting to ſea: but their projects and labours were now drawing to a ſpeedier and happier concluſion; for, on the 11th of *October*, in the afternoon, one of the *Glouceſter's* men being upon a hill in the middle of the Iſland, perceived the *Centurion* at a diſtance,

and running down with his utmoſt ſpeed towards the landing-place, he, in the way, ſaw ſome of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great extaſy, *The ſhip, the ſhip!* This being heard by Mr. *Gordon*, a Lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's tranſport that his report was true; Mr. *Gordon* directly haſtened towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being freſh and in breath eaſily outſtripped the *Glouceſter's* man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this pleaſing and unexpected news, threw down his axe, with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the firſt time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preſerved; whilſt the others, who were preſent, inſtantly ran down to the ſea-ſide in a kind of frenzy, eager to feaſt themſelves with a ſight they had ſo ardently longed after, and of which they had now for a conſiderable time deſpaired. By five in the evening, the *Centurion* was viſible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being ſent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with freſh meat and fruits for the refreſhment of her crew, ſhe the next afternoon happily caſt anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the ſincereſt and heartieſt acclamations; for, by the following ſhort recital of the fears, the dangers, and fatigues, we in the ſhip underwent, during our nineteen days abſence from *Tinian*, it may be eaſily conceived, that a harbour, refreſhments, repoſe, and the joining of our Commander and ſhip-mates, were not leſs pleaſing to us than our return was to them.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings on board the Centurion, *when driven out to ſea.*

THE *Centurion* being now once more ſafely arrived at *Tinian*, to the mutual reſpite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of thoſe left on ſhore, ſhould be apprized of the fatigues and diſtreſſes, to which we, whom the *Centurion* carried off to ſea, were expoſed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were abſent from the Iſland.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of *September*, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when,

when, by the united violence of a prodigious ſtorm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to ſea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ſhip, with three cables in our hawſes, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board laſhed, nor a port barred in; our ſhrouds were looſe, and our top-maſts unrigged, and we had ſtruck our fore and main-yards cloſe down, before the hurricane came on, ſo that there were no ſails we could ſet, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muſter no more ſtrength on board, to navigate the ſhip, than a hundred and eight hands, ſeveral Negroes and *Indians* included; this was ſcarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of theſe the greater number were either boys, or ſuch as, being but lately recovered from the ſcurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No ſooner were we at ſea, but, by the violence of the ſtorm, and the working of the ſhip, we made a great quantity of water through our hawſe-holes, ports, and ſcuppers, which, added to the conſtant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a ſufficient employment for us all; yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occaſioned this to be regarded as a ſecondary conſideration only: for we all imagined, that we were driven directly on the neighbouring Iſland of *Aguiguan*, which was about two leagues diſtant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards cloſe down, we had no ſails we could ſet up but the mizen, which was altogether inſufficient to carry us clear of this imminent peril. Urged therefore by this preſſing emergency, we immediately applied ourſelves to work, endeavouring with the utmoſt of our efforts to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could not be enabled to make uſe of our lower canvaſs, we might poſſibly weather the Iſland, and thereby ſave ourſelves from this impending ſhipwreck; but, after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke; and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable: for we ſoon eſteemed ourſelves to be driven juſt upon the ſhore, and the night was ſo extremely dark that we expected to diſcover the Iſland no otherwiſe than by ſtriking upon it; ſo that the belief of our deſtruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occaſioned us to paſs

ſeveral hours under the moſt ſerious apprehenſions that each ſucceeding moment would ſend us to the bottom. Nor did theſe continued terrors, of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking, end but with the day break; when we with great tranſport perceived, that the Iſland we had thus dreaded was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that a ſtrong northern current had been the cauſe of our preſervation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from *Tinian* did not abate till three days after; and then we ſwayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard; but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of *September*, was a day of moſt ſevere fatigue to us all; for it muſt be remembered, that in theſe exigencies no rank or office exempted any perſon from the manual application and bodily labour of a common ſailor. The buſineſs of this day was no leſs than an endeavour to heave up the ſheet-anchor, which he had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preſervation: for, not to mention the impediment it would be to our navigation, and hazard to our ſhip, if we attempted to make ſail with the anchor in its preſent ſituation, we had this moſt intereſting conſideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left, and without ſecuring it we ſhould be under the utmoſt difficulties and hazards whenever we fell in with the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprized of the conſequence of this enterpriſe, we laboured at it with the ſevereſt application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a conſiderable progreſs, having brought the anchor in ſight; but it growing dark, and we being exceſſively fatigued, we were obliged to deſiſt, and to leave our work unfiniſhed till the next morning, and then, refreſhed by the benefit of a night's reſt, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of *September*, that is, five days after our departure, before we had thus ſecured our anchor: however, we the ſame day got up our main-yard; ſo that having now conquered, in ſome degree, the diſtreſſes and diſorder which we were neceſſarily involved in at our firſt driving out to ſea, and being enabled to make uſe of our canvaſs, we ſet our courſes, and, for the firſt time, ſtood to the eaſtward, in hopes of regaining the Iſland of *Tinian*, and joining our Commodore

Commodore in a few days; ſince, by our accounts, we were only forty-ſeven leagues diſtant to the ſouth weſt. Hence, on the firſt day of *October*, having then run the diſtance neceſſary for making the Iſland according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of ſeeing it: but here we were unhappily diſappointed, and were hereby convinced that a current had driveh us conſiderably to the weſtward. This diſcovery threw us into a new perplexity; for, as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and conſequently how long we might ſtill expect to be at ſea, we had great apprehenſions that our ſtock of water would prove deficient; ſince we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, finding many of our caſks ſo decayed as to be half leaked out: however, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a ſight of the Iſland of *Guam*; and hence we computed that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the weſtward of our accounts. Being now ſatisfied of our ſituation, by this ſight of land, we kept plying to the eaſtward, though with exceſſive labour; for, the wind continuing fixed in the eaſtern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew was ſo weak, that, without the aſſiſtance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ſhip about. This ſevere employment laſted till the 11th of *October*, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when, arriving in the offing of *Tinian*, we were reinforced from the ſhore, as hath been already related; and on the evening of the ſame day, we, to our inexpreſſible joy, came to anchor in the road; thereby procuring to our ſhipmates on ſhore, as well as to ourſelves, a ceſſation from the fatigues and apprehenſions which this diſaſtrous incident had given riſe to.

CHAP. V.

Employment at Tinian, *till the final departure of the* Centurion *from thence; with a deſcription of the* Ladrones.

WHEN the Commodore came on board the *Centurion*, after her return to *Tinian*, he reſolved to ſtay no longer at the Iſland than was abſolutely neceſſary to complete our ſtock of water; a work which we immediately ſet ourſelves about: but the loſs of our long-boat, which was ſtaved againſt our poop before we were driven out to ſea,

put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our caſks, and the tide ran ſo ſtrong, that, beſides the frequent delays and difficulties it occaſioned, we more than once loſt the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of *October*, being but the third day after our arrival, a ſudden guſt of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ſhip out to ſea a ſecond time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near ſeventy men on ſhore, who had been employed in filling our water and procuring proviſions: theſe had with them our two cutters; but, as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we ſent the eighteen oared barge to aſſiſt them; and at the ſame time made a ſignal for all that could embark. The two cutters ſoon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were buſied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, remained behind; and, though the eighteen oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ſhip ſoon drove to a conſiderable diſtance, it was not in their power to join us: however, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now ſtronger than when we were firſt driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at *Tinian*, and relieved thoſe we had left behind us from their ſecond fears of being deſerted by their ſhip.

On our arrival, we found that the *Spaniſh* bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphoſis; for thoſe on ſhore, deſpairing of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly propoſed, was both a toilſome and unneceſſary meaſure, conſidering the ſmall number they conſiſted of, they had reſolved to join her again, and to reſtore her to her firſt ſtate; and in this ſcheme they had made ſome progreſs; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have ſoon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and diſquietudes.

Theſe people we had left behind informed us, that, juſt before we were ſeen in the offing, two proas had ſtood in very near the ſhore, and had continued there for ſome time; but, on the appearance of our ſhip, they crowded away, and were preſently out of ſight: and, on this occaſion, I muſt mention an incident, which, though it happened during

ing the firſt abſence of the ſhip, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the courſe of the narrtion.

It hath been already obſerved, that a part of the detachment ſent to this Iſland under the command of the *Spaniſh* Serjeant lay concealed in the woods: indeed, we were the leſs ſolicitous to find them out, as our priſoners all aſſured us, that it was impoſſible for them to get off, and conſequently that it was impoſſible for them to ſend any intelligence about us to *Guam*: but when the *Centurion* drove out to ſea, and left the Commodore on ſhore, he, one day, attended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the Iſland: in this expedition, being on a riſing ground, they obſerved in the valley beneath them the appearance of a ſmall thicket, which, by attending to more nicely, they found had a progreſſive motion: this at firſt ſurpriſed them; but they ſoon perceived that it was no more than ſeveral large coco buſhes, which were dragged along the ground by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the Serjeant's party, which was indeed true; and therefore the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat. The *Indians*, remarking that they were diſcovered, hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. *Anſon* was ſo near them that he did not loſe ſight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a paſſage from it which had been contrived for the conveniency of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms: however, there was a great quantity of proviſions, particularly ſalted ſparibs of pork, which were excellent; and, from what our people ſaw, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite which they had acquired at this Iſland was not confined to themſelves alone; for, it being about noon, the *Indians* laid out a very plentiful repaſt, conſidering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and coco-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner too which plainly evinced, that with them a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The Commodore having in vain ſearched after the path by which the *Indians* had eſcaped, he and his officers contented themſelves with ſitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their preſent hunger; after which they returned back to their old habitation, diſpleaſed at miſſing the

Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our ſervice, if they could have had any conference with them. I muſt add, that, notwithſtanding what our priſoners had aſſerted, we were afterwards aſſured, that theſe *Indians* were carried off to *Guam* long before we left the place. But to return to our hiſtory.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our ſecond driving off to ſea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of *October*, completed it to fifty ton, which we ſuppoſed would be ſufficient during our paſſage to *Macao*, we, on the next day, ſent one of each meſs on ſhore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, coco nuts, and other fruits of the Iſland, as they poſſibly could, for the uſe of themſelves and their meſsmates when at ſea: and theſe purveyors returning on the evening of the ſame day, we then ſet fire to the bark and proa, hoiſted in our boats, and got under ſail, ſteering away towards the ſouth end of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, and taking our leaves, for the third and laſt time, of the Iſland of *Tinian*; an Iſland, which, whether we conſider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthineſs of its air, or the adventures it gave riſe to, may, in all theſe views, be juſtly ſtiled romantic.

And now, poſtponing for a ſhort time our run to *Formoſa*, and thence to *Canton*, I ſhall interrupt the narration with a deſcription of that range of Iſlands, uſually called the *Ladrones*, or *Marian* Iſlands, of which this of *Tinian* is one.

Theſe Iſlands were diſcovered by *Magellan* in the year 1521; and from the account given of the two he firſt fell in with, it ſhould ſeem that they were thoſe of *Saypan* and *Tinian*; for they are deſcribed as very beautiful Iſlands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of North latitude. Theſe characteriſtics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleaſing appearance of *Tinian* hath occaſioned the *Spaniards* to give it the additional name of *Buenaviſta*; and *Saypan*, which is in the latitude of 15°: 22′ North, affords no contemptible proſpect when ſeen at ſea, as is ſufficiently evident from the view of its North Weſt ſide, taken at three leagues diſtance, and exhibited in the thirty-ſeventh plate.

There are uſually reckoned twelve of theſe Iſlands; but it

it will appear, from the chart of the North part of the *Pacific* Ocean hereafter inſerted, that if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted, their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly moſt of them well inhabited; and even not ſixty years ago, the three principal Iſlands, *Guam*, *Rota*, and *Tinian* together, are aſſerted to have contained above fifty thouſand people: but ſince that time *Tinian* hath been entirely depopulated; and no more than two or three hundred *Indians* have been left at *Rota*, to cultivate rice for the Iſland of *Guam*; ſo that now *Guam* alone can properly be ſaid to be inhabited. This Iſland of *Guam* is the only ſettlement of the *Spaniards*; here they keep a Governor and garriſon, and here the *Manila* ſhip generally touches for refreſhment, in her paſſage from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines*. It is eſteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the *Spaniſh* accounts, near four thouſand inhabitants, of which a thouſand are ſuppoſed to live in the city of *San Ignatio de Agana*, where the Governor generally reſides, and where the houſes are repreſented as conſiderable, being built with ſtone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for theſe warm climates and ſavage countries: beſides this city, there are upon the Iſland thirteen or fourteen villages. As *Guam* is a poſt of ſome conſequence, on account of the refreſhment it yields to the *Manila* ſhip, there are two caſtles on the ſea-ſhore; one is the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which lies near the road where the *Manila* ſhip uſually anchors, and is but an inſignificant fortreſs, mounting only five guns, eight pounders; the other is the caſtle of *St. Lewis*, which is N. E. from *St. Angelo*, and four leagues diſtant, and is intended to protect a road where a ſmall veſſel anchors, which arrives here every other year from *Manila*. This fort mounts the ſame number of guns as the former. And, beſides theſe forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the ſea-ſhore. The *Spaniſh* troops employed at this Iſland conſiſt of three companies of foot, betwixt forty and fifty men each; and this is the principal ſtrength the Governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any aſſiſtance from the *Indian* inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and ſo apprehenſive of them, that he has debarred them the uſe of both fire-arms and lances.

The reſt of theſe Iſlands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreſhment and proviſion; but there

there is no good harbour or road amongſt them all: of that of *Tinian* we have treated largely already; nor is the road of *Guam* much better; ſince it is not uncommon for the *Manila* ſhip, though ſhe propoſes to ſtay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience ſo ſenſibly felt by the commerce at *Manila*, that it is always recommended to the Governor of *Guam*, to uſe his beſt endeavours for the diſcovery of ſome ſecure port in the neighbouring ocean. How induſtrious he may be to comply with his inſtructions, I know not; but this is certain, that, notwithſtanding the many Iſlands already found out between the coaſt of *Mexico* and the *Philippines*, there is not any one ſafe port to be met with in that whole track; though in other parts of the world it is not uncommon for very ſmall Iſlands to furniſh moſt excellent harbours.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the *Spaniards*, on the Iſland of *Guam*, are extremely few, compared to the *Indian* inhabitants; and formerly the diſproportion was ſtill greater, as may be eaſily conceived from the account given in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on *Tinian* alone. Theſe *Indians* are a bold, ſtrong, well-limbed people; and, as it ſhould ſeem from ſome of their practices, are no ways defective in underſtanding; for their flying proas in particular, which during ages paſt have been the only veſſels employed by them, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary an invention, that would do honour to any nation, however dextrous and acute; ſince, if we conſider the aptitude of this proa to the navigation of theſe Iſlands, which, lying all of them nearly under the ſame meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the veſſels made uſe of in paſſing from one to the other to be peculiarly fitted for ſailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon ſimplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we ſhall, in each of theſe articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and deſerving a place amongſt the mechanical productions of the moſt civilized nations, where arts and ſciences have moſt eminently flouriſhed. As former Navigators, though they have mentioned thoſe veſſels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and, as I conceive, that, beſides their curioſity, they may furniſh both the ſhip-wright and ſeaman with no contemptible obſervations; I ſhall here inſert

inſert a very exact deſcription of the built, rigging, and working of theſe veſſels, which I am the better enabled to perform, as one of them fell into our hands on our firſt arrival at *Tinian*, and Mr. *Brett* took it to pieces, that he might delineate its fabric and dimenſions with greater accuracy: ſo that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa, appropriated to theſe veſſels, is owing to the ſwiftneſs with which they ſail, Of this the *Spaniards* aſſert ſuch ſtories, as muſt appear altogether incredible to one who has never ſeen theſe veſſels move; nor are they the only people who recount theſe extraordinary tales of their celerity; for thoſe who ſhall have the curioſity to enquire at *Portſmouth* dock, about an experiment tried there ſome years ſince, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not leſs wonderful than any the *Spaniards* have related. However, from ſome rude eſtimations made by us, of the velocity with which they croſſed the horizon at a diſtance, while we lay at *Tinian*, I cannot help believing, that with a briſk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour: which, though greatly ſhort of what the *Spaniards* report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of ſwiftneſs. But let us give a diſtinct idea of its figure.

The conſtruction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the reſt of mankind: for as it is cuſtomary to make the head of the veſſel different from the ſtern, but the two ſides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and ſtern exactly alike, but her two ſides very different; the ſide, intended to be always the lee-ſide, being flat; whilſt the windward ſide is built rounding, in the manner of other veſſels: and, to prevent her overſetting, which, from her ſmall breadth, and the ſtrait run of her leeward ſide, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is faſtened a log, faſhioned into the ſhape of a ſmall boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the ſmall boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her overſetting to windward; and this frame is uſually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at leaſt of that we took) is formed of two pieces joined end-ways, and ſewed together with bark, for there is no iron uſed in her conſtruction; ſhe is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale

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is reduced to leſs than one: the dimenſions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the thirty-eighth plate, which were drawn from an exact menſuration; theſe I ſhall endeavour to explain as minutely and diſtinctly as I can.

Fig. 1. Repreſents the proa with her ſail ſet, as ſhe appears when ſeen from the leeward.

Fig. 2. Is a view of her from the head, with the out-rigger to the windward.

Fig. 3. Is the plan of the whole; where (AB) is the lee-ſide of the proa; (CD) the windward ſide; (EFGH), the outrigger or frame laid out to windward; (KL) the boat at the end of it; (MNPQ) two braces from the head and ſtern to ſteady the frame; (RS) a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from ſhipping of water; this ſerves too for a ſeat to the *Indian* who bales, and ſometimes goods are carried upon it. (I) is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the maſt is fixed: the maſt itſelf is ſupported (*Fig.* 2.) by the ſhore (CD), and by the ſhroud (EF), and by two ſtays, one of which may be ſeen in *Fig.* 1. marked (CD), the other is hid by the ſail: the ſail (EFG), in *Fig.* 1. is of matting, and the maſt, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo: the heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the ſockets (T) or (V), *Fig.* 3, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when ſhe alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her ſtern up to the wind; then, by caſing the halyard, and raiſing the yard, carrying the heel of it along the lee-ſide of the proa, they ſix it in the oppoſite ſocket; whilſt the boom at the ſame time, by letting fly the ſheet (M), and haling the ſheet (N), *Fig.* 1. ſhifts into a contrary ſituation to what it had before; and that which was the ſtern of the proa now becomes the head, and ſhe is trimmed on the other tack. When it is neceſſary to reef or furl the ſail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries ſix or ſeven *Indians*; two of which are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle according to the tack ſhe goes on, he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman; the other *Indians* are employed either in bailing out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. From the deſcription of theſe veſſels, it is ſufficiently obvious how dextrouſly they are fitted for ranging this collection of Iſlands called the *Ladrones:* ſince, as theſe Iſlands bear nearly N. and

N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by ſailing moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, can run from one of theſe Iſlands to the other and back again, only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatneſs of their lee-ſide, and their ſmall breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage which no veſſels that go large can ever pretend to: the advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps ſometimes greater, than what the wind blows with. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in ſimilar inſtances on ſhore: ſince it is well known, that the ſails of a windmill often move faſter than the wind; and one great ſuperiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the caſe we have mentioned of a veſſel upon a wind and before the wind: for the ſails of an horizontal windmill, the faſter they move, the more they detract from the impulſe of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind when they are in motion, as when they are at reſt.

Thus much may ſuffice as to the deſcription and nature of theſe ſingular embarkations. I muſt add, that veſſels bearing ſome obſcure reſemblance to theſe are to be met with in various parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with thoſe of the *Ladrones*, either for their conſtruction or celerity; which ſhould induce one to believe, that this was originally the invention of ſome genius of theſe Iſlands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations: for though the *Ladrones* have no immediate intercourſe with any other people, yet there lie to the S. and S. W. of them a great number of Iſlands, which are imagined to extend to the coaſt of *New Guinea*. Theſe Iſlands are ſo near the *Ladrones*, that canoes from them have ſometimes, by diſtreſs, been driven to *Guam*; and the *Spaniards* did once diſpatch a bark for their diſcovery, which left two Jeſuits amongſt them, who were afterwards murthered: whence it may be preſumed that the inhabitants of the *Ladrones*, with their proas, may, by ſtorms, or caſualties, have been driven amongſt

amongſt thoſe Iſlands. Indeed I ſhould conceive, that the ſame range of Iſlands ſtretches to the S. E. as well as the S. W. and to a prodigious diſtance: for *Schouten*, who traverſed the South part of the *Pacific* Ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe full of people, above a thouſand leagues from the *Ladrones* towards the S. E. If that double canoe was any diſtant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, it muſt then be ſuppoſed, that a range of Iſlands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, is continued thither from the *Ladrones*. This ſeems to be further evinced from hence, that all thoſe who have croſſed from *America* to the *Eaſt Indies* in a ſouthern latitude have never failed of diſcovering ſeveral very ſmall Iſlands ſcattered over that immenſe ocean.

And as there may be hence ſome reaſon to conclude that there is a chain of Iſlands, ſpreading themſelves ſouthward, towards the unknown boundaries of the *Pacific* Ocean, of which the *Ladrones* are only a part; ſo it appears, from the *Spaniſh* chart hereafter inſerted, that the ſame chain is extended from the northward of the *Ladrones* to *Japan*: whence, in this light, the *Ladrones* will be only one ſmall portion of a range of Iſlands reaching from *Japan*, perhaps to the unknown ſouthern Continent. After this ſhort account of theſe places, I ſhall now return to the proſecution of our voyage.

CHAP. VI.

From Tinian *to* Macao.

ON the 21ſt of *October*, in the evening, we took our leave of the Iſland of *Tinian*, ſteering the proper courſe for *Macao* in *China*. The eaſtern monſoon was now, we reckoned, fairly ſettled; and we had a conſtant gale blowing right a-ſtern: ſo that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow ſea purſuing us, which occaſioned the ſhip to labour much: whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which by this time was grown very rotten: however, our people were now happily in full health; ſo that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through

through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ſhip, with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

Before we left *Tinian*, we ſwept for our beſt and ſmall bower, and employed the *Indians* to dive in ſearch of them; but all to no purpoſe; hence, except our prize-anchors, which were ſtowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we had only our ſheet-anchor left: and that being obviouſly much too heavy for a coaſting-anchor, we were under great concern how we ſhould manage on the coaſt of *China*, where we were entire ſtrangers, and where we ſhould doubtleſs be frequently under the neceſſity of coming to an anchor. But we at length removed the difficulty, by fixing two of our largeſt prize-anchors into one ſtock, and placing between their ſhanks two guns, four pounders: This we intended to ſerve as a beſt bower: and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined to our ſtream-anchor, with guns between them, made us a ſmall bower; ſo that, beſides our ſheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of *November*, about three in the afternoon, we ſaw an Iſland, which at firſt we imagined to be *Botal Tobago Xima*, but on our nearer approach we found it to be much ſmaller than that is uſually repreſented; and about an hour after we ſaw another Iſland, five or ſix miles farther to the weſtward. As no chart or journal we had ſeen took notice of any Iſland to the eaſtward of *Formoſa*, but *Botel Tobago Xima*, and as we had no obſervation of our latitude at noon, we were in ſome perplexity, apprehending that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the *Baſhee Iſlands:* we therefore, when night came on, brought to, and continued in that poſture till the next morning, which, proving dark and cloudy, for ſome time prolonged our uncertainty; but it clearing up about nine o'clock, we again diſcerned the two Iſlands abovementioned; and having now the day before us, we preſſed forwards to the weſtward, and by eleven got a ſight of the ſouthern part of the Iſland of *Formoſa*. This ſatisfied us that the ſecond Iſland we ſaw was *Botel Tobago Xima*, and the firſt a ſmall Iſlet or rock, lying five or ſix miles due Eaſt of it, which, not being mentioned in any of our books or charts, had been the occaſion of all our doubts.

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When we had made the Iſland of *Formoſa*, we ſteered W. by S. in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of *Vele Rete*, which we did not diſcover till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W. N. W. three miles diſtant, the South end of *Formoſa* at the ſame time bearing N. by W. ½ W. about five leagues diſtant. To give theſe rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W. and ſo left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reaſon to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ſhip's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all ſides, and there is a ſhole ſtretching from them at leaſt a mile and a half to the ſouthward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The courſe from *Betel Tobago Xima* to theſe rocks is S. W. by W. and the diſtance about twelve or thirteen leagues: and the South end of *Formoſa*, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21°: 50′ North, and, according to our moſt approved reckonings, in 23°: 50′ Weſt longitude from *Tinian*; though ſome of our accounts made its longitude above a degree more.

While we were paſſing by theſe rocks of *Vele Rete*, there was an outcry of fire on the fore-caſtle; this occaſioned a general alarm, and the whole crew inſtantly flocked together in the utmoſt confuſion; ſo that the officers found it difficult for ſome time to appeaſe the uproar: but, having at laſt reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace; where the bricks, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work: hence, by pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguiſhed with great facility. In the evening we were ſurprized with a view of what we at firſt ſight conceived to have been breakers; but, on a ſtricter examination, we diſcerned them to be only a great number of fires on the Iſland of *Formoſa*. Theſe we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that Iſland as ſignals to invite us to touch there; but that ſuited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of *Macao* as ſoon as poſſible. From *Formoſa* we ſteered W. N. W. and ſometimes ſtill more northerly, propoſing to fall in with the coaſt of *China*, to the eaſtward of *Pedro Blanco*; as the rock ſo called is uſually eſteemed an excellent direction for ſhips bound to *Macao*. We continued this courſe to the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in ſoundings: but

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it was the 5th of *November*, at nine in the morning, before we ſtruck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of gray ſand mixed with ſhells. When we had run about twenty miles further W. N. W. we had thirty-five fathom and the ſame bottom; then our ſoundings gradually decreaſed from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom; but ſoon after, to our great ſurpriſe, they jumped back again to thirty fathom. This was an alteration we could not very well account for, ſince all the charts laid down regular ſoundings every where to the northward of *Pedro Blanco*: we for this reaſon kept a very careful look-out, and altered our courſe to N. N. W and having run thirty-five miles in that direction, our ſoundings again gradually diminiſhed to twenty two fathom, and we at laſt, about midnight, got ſight of the main land of *China*, bearing N. by. W. four leagues diſtant. We then brought the ſhip to, with her head to the ſea, propoſing to wait for the morning; and before ſunriſe we were ſurpriſed to find ourſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing-boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach. I may well ſtile their number incredible; ſince I cannot believe, upon the loweſt eſtimate, that there were ſo few as ſix thouſand, moſt of them manned with five hands, and none of thoſe we ſaw with leſs than three. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing veſſels peculiar to that ſpot; for as we ran on to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coaſt. We at firſt doubted not but we ſhould procure a Pilot from them to carry us to *Macao*; but though many of them came cloſe to the ſhip, and we endeavoured to tempt them by ſhewing them a number of dollars, a moſt alluring bait for *Chineſe* of all ranks and profeſſions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I preſume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, as we could have no communication with them but by ſigns. Indeed we often pronounced the word *Macao*; but this we had reaſon to ſuppoſe they underſtood in a different ſenſe; ſince in return they ſometimes held up fiſh to us; and we afterwards learnt, that the *Chineſe* name for fiſh is of a ſomewhat ſimilar ſound. But what ſurprized us moſt was the inattention and want of curioſity, which we obſerved in this herd of fishermen. A ſhip like ours had doubtleſs never been in thoſe ſeas before; and perhaps

perhaps there might not be one, amongſt all the *Chineſe* employed in that fiſhery, who had ever ſeen any *European* veſſel; ſo that we might reaſonably have expected to have been conſidered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their boats came cloſe to the ſhip, yet they did not appear to be at all intereſted about us, nor did they deviate in the leaſt from their courſe to regard us. Which inſenſibility, eſpecially of maritime perſons in a matter relating to their own profeſſion, is ſcarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the *Chineſe*, in other inſtances, furniſh us with continual proofs of a ſimilar turn of mind. It may perhaps be doubted, whether this caſt of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either caſe, it is an inconteſtable ſymptom of a mean and contemptible diſpoſition, and is alone a ſufficient confutation of the extravagant praiſes, which many prejudiced writers have beſtowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this Nation. But to return.

Not being able to procure any information from the *Chineſe* fiſhermen about our proper courſe to *Macao*, it was neceſſary for us to rely entirely on our own judgement: and concluding from our latitude, which was 22°: 42′ North, and from our ſoundings, which were only ſeventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eaſtward of *Pedro Blanco*, we ſtill ſtood on to the weſtward. And for the aſſiſtance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt what part of the coaſt they are upon, I muſt obſerve, that beſides the latitude of *Pedro Blanco*, which is 22°: 18′, and the depth of water, which to the weſtward of that rock is almoſt every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumſtance which will be greatly aſſiſtant in judging of the poſition of the ſhip: this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of *Pedro Blanco*, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to ſoft and muddy, and continued ſo quite to the Iſland of *Macao*; only, while we were in ſight of *Pedro Blanco*, and very near it, we had for a ſhort ſpace a bottom of greeniſh mud, intermixed with ſand.

It was on the 5th of *November*, at midnight, when we firſt made the coaſt of *China*. The next day, about two o'clock, as we were ſtanding to the weſtward within two leagues of the coaſt, ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing-veſſels in as great numbers as at firſt, we perceived that a boat a-head

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of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we conſidered a ſignal made to us, either to warn us of ſome ſhoal, or to inform us that they would ſupply us with a Pilot: we therefore immediately ſent our Cutter to the boat, to know their intentions; when we were ſoon convinced of our miſtake, and found that this boat was the Commodore of the whole fiſhery, and that the ſignal ſhe had made, was to order them all to leave off fiſhing, and to return in ſhore, which we ſaw them inſtantly obey. Being thus diſappointed, we kept on our courſe, and ſhortly after paſſed by two very ſmall rocks, which lay four or five miles diſtant from the ſhore. We were now in hourly expectation of deſcrying *Pedro Blanco*; but night came on before we got ſight of it, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the ſatisfaction to diſcover it. *Pedro Blanco* is a rock of a ſmall circumference, but of a moderate height, reſembling a ſugar-loaf both in ſhape and colour, and is about ſeven or eight miles diſtant from the ſhore. We paſſed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, ſtill keeping on to the weſtward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breaſt of a chain of Iſlands, which ſtretched from Eaſt to Weſt. Theſe, as we afterwards found, were called the Iſlands of *Lema*; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, ſmall and great, fifteen or ſixteen; but there are, beſides, many more between them and the main land of *China*. There is in the thirty-ninth plate a view of theſe Iſlands, and likewiſe a view of an Iſland lying off *Macao*, called the *Grand Ladrone*, hereafter mentioned, as it appears when (R), the weſternmoſt of the rocks of *Lema*, bears W. N. W. at a diſtance of a mile and a half. We left theſe Iſlands on the ſtarboard-ſide, paſſing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathom water. Being ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing-boats, we once more ſent the Cutter on board ſome of them, to endeavour to procure a Pilot, but we could not prevail; however, one of the *Chineſe* directed us by ſigns to ſail round the weſternmoſt of the Iſlands or rocks of *Lema*, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom; at which time, the rock (R) in the foregoing draught bore S. S. E. five miles diſtant, and the *Grand Ladrone* W. by S. about two leagues diſtant. The rock (R) is a moſt excellent

direction for ſhips coming from the eaſtward: its latitude is 21°: 52′ North, and it bears from *Pedro Blanco* S. 64° W. diſtant twenty one leagues. You are to leave it on the ſtarboard ſide, and you may come within half a mile of it in eighteen fathom water: and then you muſt ſteer N. by W. ½ W. for the channel, between the Iſlands of *Cabouce* and *Bamboo*, which are to the northward of the *Grand Ladrone*.

After having continued at anchor all night, we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, ſent our Cutter to ſound the channel, where we propoſed to paſs; but, before the return of the Cutter, a *Chineſe* Pilot put on board the *Centurion*, and told us in broken *Portugueſe*, he would carry the ſhip to *Macao* for thirty dollars: the ſame were immediately paid him, and we then weighed, and made ſail. Soon after, ſeveral other Pilots came on board, who, to recommend themſelves, produced certificates from the Captains of many *European* ſhips they had piloted in; but we ſtill continued under the management of the *Chineſe* whom we at firſt engaged. By this time we learnt, that we were not far diſtant from *Macao*, and that there were in the river of *Canton*, at the mouth of which *Macao* lies, eleven *European* ſhips, of which four were *Engliſh*. Our Pilot carried us between the Iſlands of *Bamboo* and *Cabouce*; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often ſetting ſtrongly againſt us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor; ſo that we did not get through between the two Iſlands till the 12th of *November*, at two in the morning. In paſſing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathom; and as we ſteered on N. by W. ½ W. between a number of other Iſlands, our ſoundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increaſed to ſeventeen fathom; in which depth, the wind dying away, we anchored not far from the Iſland of *Lantoon*, the largeſt of all this range of Iſlands. At ſeven in the morning we weighed again, and ſteering W. S. W. and S. W. by W. we at ten o'clock happily anchored in *Macao* road, in five fathom water, the city of *Macao* bearing W. by N. three leagues diſtant; the peak of *Lantoon* E. by N. and the grand *Ladrone* S. by E. each of them about five leagues diſtant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruiſe of above two years continuance, we once more arrived at an amicable port, and

a civilized country; where the conveniencies of life were in great plenty; where the naval ſtores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in ſome degree procured; where we expected the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from *England*, would be capable of anſwering the numerous enquiries we were prepared to make both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be liſtened to by us with the utmoſt attention, after the long ſuſpenſion of our correſpondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto ſubjected us.

CHAP. VII.

Proceedings at Macao.

THE city of *Macao*, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of *November*, is a *Portugueſe* ſettlement, ſituated in an Iſland at the entrance of the river of *Canton*. It was formerly very rich and populous, and capable of defending itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent *Chineſe* Governors; but at preſent it is much fallen from its ancient ſplendor; for, though it is inhabited by *Portugueſe*, and hath a Governor nominated by the King of *Portugal*, yet it ſubſiſts merely by the ſufferance of the *Chineſe*, who can ſtarve the place, and diſpoſſeſs the *Portugueſe*, whenever they pleaſe: this obliges the Governor of *Macao* to behave with great circumſpection, and carefully to avoid every circumſtance that may give offence to the *Chineſe*. The river of *Canton*, off the mouth of which this city lies, is the only *Chineſe* port frequented by *European* ſhips; and is, on many accounts, a more commodious harbour than *Macao*: but the peculiar cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*, ſolely adapted to the entertainment of trading ſhips, and the apprehenſions of the Commodore, leſt he ſhould embroil the *Eaſt India* Company with the Regency of *Canton*, if he ſhould inſiſt on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him reſolve rather to go to *Macao*, than to venture into the river of *Canton*. Indeed, had not this reaſon prevailed with him, he himſelf had nothing to fear; for it

is certain that he might have entered the port of *Canton*, and might have continued there as long as he pleaſed, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the *Chineſe* Empire had been brought together to oppoſe him.

The Commodore, not to depart from his uſual prudence, no ſooner came to an anchor in *Macao* road, than he deſpatched an officer with his compliments to the *Portuguese* Governor of *Macao*, requeſting his Excellency, by the ſame officer, to adviſe him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chineſe, while there were then four of our ſhips in their power at *Canton*, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty, which the Commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty uſually paid by ſhips in the river of *Canton*, according to their tonnage: for, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country, to ſubmit to this duty in *China*; and therefore he deſired the advice of the Governor of *Macao*, who, being an *European*, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a *Britiſh* man of war, and conſequently might be expected to give us the beſt lights for obviating this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers ſent by the Governor, who informed the Commodore, that it was the Governor's opinion, that, if the *Centurion* ventured into the river of *Canton*, the duty would certainly be exacted; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would ſend him a pilot, who ſhould conduct us into another ſafe harbour called the *Typa*, which was every way commodious for careening the ſhip (an operation we were reſolved to begin upon as ſoon as poſſible), and where, in all probability, the above-mentioned duty would never be demanded.

This propoſal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the *Portuguese* pilot, and ſteered for the intended harbour. As we entered between two Iſlands, which form the eaſtern paſſage to it, we found our ſoundings decreaſed to three fathoms and a half: however, the pilot aſſuring us that this was the leaſt depth we ſhould meet with, we continued our courſe, till at length the ſhip ſtuck faſt in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and, the tide of ebb making, the water ſewed to fixteen feet, but the ſhip remained

perfectly

perfectly upright; we then ſounded all round us, and diſcovering that the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our ſmall bower with two hawſers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood hove the ſhip a-float; and a breeze ſpringing up at the ſame inſtant, we ſet the fore-top ſail, and ſlipping the hawſer ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the *Typa* is formed by a number of Iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from *Macao*. Here we ſaluted the caſtle of *Macao* with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the Commodore paid a viſit in perſon to the Governor, and was ſaluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anſon's* buſineſs in this viſit was to ſolicit the Governor to grant us a ſupply both of proviſions, and of ſuch naval ſtores as were neceſſary to refit the ſhip. The Governor ſeemed really inclined to do us all the ſervice he could; and aſſured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the aſſiſtance in his power; but he, at the ſame time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly to furniſh us with any thing we demanded, unleſs we firſt produced an order for it from the Viceroy of *Canton*; ſince he himſelf neither received proviſions for his garriſon, nor any other neceſſaries, but by permiſſion from the *Chineſe* Government; and as they took care only to victual him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vaſſal, whom they could at all times compel to ſubmit to their own terms, by laying an embargo on his proviſions.

On this declaration of the Governor, Mr. *Anſon* reſolved himſelf to go to *Canton*, to procure a licence from the Viceroy; and he accordingly hired a *Chineſe* boat for himſelf and his attendants; but juſt as he was ready to embark, the *Hoppo*, or *Chineſe* Cuſtom-houſe officer of *Macao*, refuſed to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the waterman not to proceed at their peril. The Commodore at firſt endeavoured to prevail with the *Hoppo* to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the Governor of *Macao* employed his intereſt with the *Hoppo* to the ſame purpoſe: but the officer continuing inflexible, Mr. *Anſon* told him, the next day, that if the permit was any longer refuſed, he would man and arm the Commodore's boats; and ſeize the *Hoppo*, at the ſame time, who he imagined would dare to

to oppoſe them in their paſſage. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the permit was granted, and Mr. *Anſon* went to *Canton*. On his arrival there, he conſulted with the Supercargoes and Officers of the *Engliſh* ſhips, how to procure an order from the Viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted: but in this he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the advice they gave him, though well intended, was yet not the moſt prudent: for, as it is the cuſtom with theſe gentlemen, never to apply to the ſupreme Magiſtrate himſelf, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to tranſact all matters relating to the Government by the mediation of the principal *Chineſe* merchants, Mr. *Anſon* was perſuaded to follow the ſame method upon this occaſion; the *Engliſh* promiſing, in which they were doubtleſs ſincere, to exert all their intereſt to engage the merchants in his favour. Indeed, when the *Chineſe* merchants were ſpoke to, they readily undertook the management of this buſineſs, and promiſed to anſwer for its ſucceſs; but, after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuſes, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing it, they at laſt, when they were preſſed, and meaſures were taken for delivering a letter to the Viceroy, threw off the maſk, and declared they neither had made application to the Viceroy, nor could they; as he was too great a man, they ſaid, for them to approach on any occaſion: and, not contented with having themſelves thus groſsly deceived the Commodore, they now uſed all their perſuaſion with the *Engliſh* at *Canton*, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; repreſenting to them, that it would, in all probability, embroil them with the Government, and occaſion them a great deal of unneceſſary tronble; which groundleſs inſinuations had unluckily but too much weight with thoſe they were intended to influence.

It may be difficult to aſſign a reaſon for this perfidious conduct of the *Chineſe* merchants. Intereſt, indeed, is known to exert a boundleſs influence over the inhabitants of that Empire; but how their intereſt could be affected in the preſent caſe, is not eaſy to diſcover; unleſs they apprehended that the preſence of a ſhip of force might damp their *Manila* trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the Commodore to *Batavia*; though it might be as

natural

natural in this light to ſuppoſe that they would have been eager to have got him diſpatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled puſillanimity of the Nation, and to the awe they are under of the Government: ſince ſuch a ſhip as the *Centurion*, fitted for war only, having never been ſeen in thoſe parts before, ſhe was the horror of theſe daſtards, and the merchants were in ſome degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the Viceroy, who is doubtleſs fond of all opportunities of fleecing them, without repreſenting to themſelves the occaſions which a hungry and tyrannical Magiſtrate might poſſibly find, for cenſuring their intermeddling with ſo unuſual a tranſaction, in which he might pretend the intereſt of the ſtate was immediately concerned: however, be this as it may, the Commodore was ſatisfied that nothing was to be done by the interpoſition of the merchants, as it was on his preſſing them to deliver a letter to the Viceroy, that they had declared they durſt not interfere in the affair; and had confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding all their pretences of ſerving him, they had not yet taken one ſtep towards it. Mr. *Anſon* therefore told them, that he would proceed to *Batavia*, and refit his ſhip there; but informed them, at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible to be done, unleſs he was ſupplied with a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for his paſſage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him proviſions, though they aſſured him, that it was what they durſt not engage in openly; but they propoſed to manage it in a clandeſtine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other proviſion, on baard the *Engliſh* ſhips, which were now ready to ſail; and theſe were to ſtop at the moth of the *Typa*, where the *Centurion's* boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants repreſented as a matter of great favour, being ſettled, the Commodore, on the 16th of *December*, came back from *Canton* to the ſhip, ſeemingly reſolved to proceed to *Batavia* to refit, as ſoon as ſhe could get his ſupplies of proviſions on board.

But Mr. *Anſon* (who never intended going to *Batavia*) found, on his return to the *Centurion*, that her main-maſt was ſprung in two places, and that the leak was conſiderably increaſed; ſo that, upon the whole, he was fully ſatisfied, that though he ſhould lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions,

yet it would be impoſſible for him to put to ſea without refitting: ſince, if he left the port with his ſhip in her preſent condition, ſhe would be in the utmoſt danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had met with, he reſolved at all events to have her hove down before he departed from *Macao*. He was fully convinced, by what he had obſerved at *Canton*, that his great caution not to injure the *Eaſt India* Company's affairs, and the regard he had ſhewn to the advice of their officers, had occaſioned all his perplexity: for he now ſaw clearly, that, if he had at firſt carried his ſhip into the river of *Canton*, and had immediately addreſſed himſelf to the *Mandarins*, who are the chief officers of State, inſtead of employing the merchants to apply on his behalf, he would, in all probability, have had all his requeſts granted, and would have been ſoon diſpatched. He had already loſt a month by the wrong meaſures he had purſued, but he reſolved to loſe as little more time as poſſible; therefore, the 17th of *December*, being the next day after his return from *Canton*, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was Commander in chief of a ſquadron of his *Britannic* Majeſty's ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing for two years paſt in the *South Seas* againſt the *Spaniards*, who were at enmity with the King his maſter; that, on his way back to *England*, he had put into the port of *Macao*, having a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and being in great want of proviſions, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ſhip was repaired, and he was ſupplied with the neceſſaries he wanted; that he had been at *Canton*, in hopes of being admitted to a perſonal audience of his Excellency; but, being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had not been able to inform himſelf what ſteps were neceſſary to be taken to procure ſuch an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply in this manner, to deſire his Excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ſhip, and to furniſh himſelf with proviſions and ſtores, that he might be enabled to purſue his voyage to *Great Britain*; hoping, at the ſame time, that theſe orders would be iſſued with as little delay as poſſible, leſt it might occaſion his loſs of the ſeaſon, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

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This letter was tranſlated into the *Chineſe* language, and the Commodore delivered it himſelf to the *Hoppo*, or chief officer of the Emperor's cuſtoms at *Macao*, deſiring him to forward it to the Viceroy of *Canton* with as much expedition as he could. The officer at firſt ſeemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raiſed many difficulties about it; ſo that Mr. *Anſon* ſuſpected him of being in league with the merchants of *Canton*, who had always ſhewn a great apprehenſion of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourſe with the Viceroy or *Mandarines*; and therefore the Commodore, not without ſome reſentment, took back his letter from the *Hoppo*, and told him, he would immediately ſend it to *Canton* in his own boat, and would give his officer poſitive orders not to return without an anſwer from the Viceroy. The *Hoppo*, perceiving the Commodore to be in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be entruſted with the letter, and promiſed to deliver it, and to procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. And now it was preſently ſeen how juſtly Mr. *Anſon* had at laſt judged of the proper manner of dealing with the *Chineſe*; for this letter was written but the 17th of *December*, as hath been already obſerved; and on the 19th in the morning, a *Mandarine* of the firſt rank, who was Governor of the city of *Tamſon*, together with two *Mandarins* of an inferior claſs, and a conſiderable retinue of officers and ſervants, having with them eighteen half gallies furniſhed with muſic, and decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the *Centurion*; whence the *Mandarine* ſent a meſſage to the Commodore, telling him, that he (the *Mandarine*) was ordered, by the Viceroy of *Canton*, to examine the condition of the ſhip; therefore deſiring the ſhip's boat might be ſent to fetch him on board. The *Centurion's* boat was immediately diſpatched, and preparations were made for receiving him: in particular, hundred of the moſt ſightly of the crew were uniformly dreſſed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn under arms on the main-deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip, he was ſaluted by the drums, and what other military muſic there was on board; and paſſing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the Commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the *Mandarine* explained his commiſſion, declaring, that he was directed

to examine all the articles mentioned in the Commodore's letter to the Viceroy, and to confront them with the repreſentation that had been given of them; that he was in the firſt place inſtructed to inſpect the leak, and had for that purpoſe brought with him two *Chineſe* carpenters; and that, for the more regular diſpatch of his buſineſs, he had every head of enquiry ſepatately written down on a ſheet of paper, with a void ſpace oppoſite to it, where he was to inſert ſuch information, and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own obſervation.

This *Mandarine* appeared to be a perſon of very conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and honeſty than is to be found in the generality of the *Chineſe*. After the neceſſary inſpections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the *Chineſe* carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been deſcribed, and conſequently that it was impoſſible for the *Centurion* to proceed to ſea without being refitted; the *Mandarine* expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given in the Commodore's letter. And this Magiſtrate, as he was more intelligent than any other perſon of his nation that came to our knowledge, ſo likewiſe was he more curious and inquiſitive, viewing each part of the ſhip with extraordinary attention, and appearing greatly ſurprized at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The Commodore, obſerving his aſtoniſhment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the *Chineſe* of the prudence of granting him all his demands in the moſt ſpeedy and ample manner: he therefore told the *Mandarine*, and thoſe who were with him, that, beſides the requeſt he made for a general licence, to furniſh himſelf with whatever his preſent ſituation required, he had a particular complaint to prefer againſt the proceedings of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Macao*; that at his firſt arrival the *Chineſe* boats had brought on board him plenty of greens, and variety of freſh proviſions, for daily uſe; that, though they had always been paid to their full ſatisfaction, yet the Cuſtom-houſe officers at *Macao* had ſoon forbid them; by which means he was deprived of thoſe refreſhments, which were of the utmoſt conſequence to the health of his men, after their long and ſickly voyage; that, as they, the *Mandarines*, had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of the force and ſtrength of his ſhip, they might be ſatisfied, it was not becauſe he had no power to ſupply himſelf, that he deſired the permiſſion

of

of the Government to purchaſe what proviſions he ſtood in need of; ſince he preſumed they were convinced that the *Centurion* alone was capale of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of *Canton*, or of any other port in *China*, without running the leaſt riſque from all the force the *Chineſe* could collect; that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was likewiſe true, that it was not cuſtomary for any nation to permit the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports, when thoſe friends had money to purchaſe neceſſaries, and only deſired liberty to lay it out; that they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve; but that, as his diſtreſſes were each day increaſing, famine would at laſt prove too ſtrong for any reſtraint, and neceſſity was acknowledged in all countries to be ſuperior to every other law: and therefore, it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to ſtarve in the midſt of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witneſſes: to this the Commodore added (though perhaps with a leſs ſerious air), that if, by the delay of ſupplying him with proviſions, his men ſhould, from the impulſes of hunger, be obliged to turn cannibals, and to prey upon their own ſpecies, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, independent of their friendſhip to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well-fed *Chineſe* to their own emaciated ſhip-mates. The firſt *Mandarine* acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and told the Commodore, that he ſhould that night proceed for *Canton*; that, on his arrival, a Council of *Mandarines* would be ſummoned, of which he was a member, and that, by being employed in the preſent commiſſion, he was of courſe the Commodore's advocate; that, as we was himſelf fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. *Anſon's* neceſſity, he did not doubt but, on the repreſentation he ſhould make of what he had ſeen, the Council would be of the ſame opinion; and that all which was demanded would be amply and ſpeedily granted: that, with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Macao*, this he would undertake to rectify immediately by his own authority: and then deſiring a liſt to be given him of the quantity of proviſion neceſſary for the expence of the ſhip during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to ſee that quantity ſent on board early every

morning; which order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in ſome degree regulated, the Commodore invited him, and his two attendant *Mandarines*, to dinner, telling them at the ſame time, that if his proviſion, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they muſt thank themſelves for having confined him to ſo hard an allowance. One of his diſhes was beef, which the *Chineſe* all diſlike, though Mr. *Anſon* was not apprized of it; this ſeems to be derived from the *Indian* ſuperſtition, which, for ſome ages paſt, has made a great progreſs in *China*: however, his gueſts did not entirely faſt; for the three *Mandarines* completely finiſhed the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarraſed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making uſe of them: ſo that, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to help themſelves, which were ſufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in ſmall pieces for them: but, whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the *European* manner of eating, they ſeemed not to be novices at drinking. In this part of the entertainment the Commodore excuſed himſelf, under the pretence of illneſs; but, there being another gentleman preſent, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief *Mandarine* clapped him on the ſhoulder, and told him, by the interpreter, that certainly he would not plead ſickneſs, and therefore inſiſted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that, after they had diſpatched four or five bottles of *Frontiniac*, the *Mandarine* ſtill continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which the *Chineſe* ſeemed much to reliſh; and, this being near finiſhed, they aroſe from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk; and the Commodore having, according to cuſtom, made the *Mandarine* a preſent, they all departed in the ſame veſſels that brought them.

After their departure, the Commodore with great impatience expected the reſolution of the Council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ſhip: for it muſt be obſerved, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that the *Chineſe* were forbid to have any dealings with him; ſo that he could neither purchaſe ſtores nor neceſſaries, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themſelves in his

his ſervice, until the permiſſion of the Government was firſt obtained: and in the execution of theſe particular injunctions, the Magiſtrates never fail of exerciſing great ſeverity: ſince, notwithſtanding the fuſtian elogiums beſtowed upon them by the *Romiſh* Miſſionaries reſiding in the Eaſt, and their *European* copiers, they are compoſed of the ſame fragil materials with the reſt of mankind, and often make uſe of the authority of the law, not to ſuppreſs crimes, but to enrich themſelves by the pillage of thoſe who commit them. This is the more eaſily effected in *China*, becauſe capital puniſhments are rare in that country; the effeminate genius of the nation, and their ſtrong attachment to lucre, diſpoſing them rather to make uſe of fines: and, as from theſe there ariſes no inconſiderable profit to thoſe who compoſe their tribunals, it is obvious enough that prohibitions of all kinds, particularly ſuch as the alluring proſpect of great profit may often tempt the ſubject to infringe, cannot but be favourite inſtitutions in ſuch a Government.

A ſhort time before this, Captain *Saunders* took his paſſage to *England* on board a *Swediſh* ſhip, and was charged with diſpatches from the Commodore; and in the month of *December*, Captain *Mitchel*, Colonel *Cracherode*, and Mr. *Taſwel*, one of the agent-victualers, with his nephew Mr. *Charles Herriot*, embarked on board ſome of our company's ſhips; and I, having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I muſt obſerve too, having omitted it before, that, whilſt we lay at *Macao*, we were informed by the officers of our *Indiaman*, that the *Severn* and *Pearl*, the two ſhips of our ſquadron which had ſeparated from us off Cape *Noir*, were ſafely arrived at *Rio Janeiro* on the coaſt of *Brazil*. I have formerly taken no notice, that at the time of their ſeparation we ſuſpected them to be loſt: and there were many reaſons which greatly favoured this ſuſpicion; for we knew that the *Severn* in particular was extremely ſickly; which was the more obvious to the reſt of the ſhips, as, in the preceding part of the voyage, her Commander, Captain *Legg*, had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his ſtation; and yet, during the laſt ten days before his ſeparation, his crew was ſo diminiſhed and enfeebled, that with his utmoſt efforts he could not poſſibly maintain his proper poſition with his wonted exactneſs. The extraordinar ſickneſs on board him was by many imputed to the ſhip, which

was new, and on that account was believed to be the more unhealthy; but, whatever was the cauſe of it, the *Severn* was by much the moſt ſickly of the ſquadron; ſince before her departure from *St. Catharine's* ſhe buried more men than any of them, inſomuch that the Commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of freſh hands; and, the mortality ſtill continuing on board her, ſhe was ſupplied with men a ſecond time at ſea, after our ſetting ſail from *St. Julian's*; yet, notwithſtanding theſe different reinforcements, ſhe was at laſt reduced to the diſtreſſed condition I have already mentioned: hence the Commodore himſelf firmly believed ſhe was loſt; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of her and of the *Pearl's* ſafety, after the ſtrong perſuaſion, which had ſo long prevailed amongſt us, of their having both periſhed. But to proceed with the tranſactions between Mr. *Anſon* and the *Chineſe*.

Notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the *Mandarine* Governor of *Janſon*, at his leaving Mr. *Anſon*, ſeveral days were elapſed before there was any advice from him; and Mr. *Anſon* was privately informed there were great debates in the Council upon his affair; partly, perhaps, owing to its being ſo unuſual a caſe, and in part to the influence, as I ſuppoſe, of the intrigues of the *French* at *Canton*; for they had a countryman and faſt friend reſiding on the ſpot, who ſpoke the language well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the Government, nor with the perſons of ſeveral of the Magiſtrates, and conſequently could not be at a loſs for means of traverſing the aſſiſtance deſired by Mr. *Anſon*. Indeed this oppoſition of the *French* was not merely the effect of national prejudice, or a contrariety of political intereſts; but was in a good meaſure owing to vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind than any attachment to the public ſervice of the community. For, the *French* pretending their *Indiamen* to be Men of War, their officers were apprehenſive, that any diſtinction granted to Mr. *Anſon* on account of his bearing the King's commiſſion would render them leſs conſiderable in the eyes of the *Chineſe*, and would eſtabliſh a prepoſſeſſion at *Canton* in favour of ſhips of war, by which they, as trading veſſels, would ſuffer in their importance. And I wiſh the affectation of endeavouring to paſs for men of war, and the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of the *Chineſe*, if the *Centurion*

was

was treated in a different manner from themſelves, had been confined to the officers of the *French* ſhips only. However, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, it ſhould ſeem that the repreſentation of the Commodore to the *Mandarines*, of the facility with which he could right himſelf if juſtice were denied him, had at laſt its effect: ſince, on the 6th of *January*, in the morning, the Governor of *Janſou*, the Commodore's Advocate, ſent down the Viceroy of *Canton's* warrant for the refitment of the *Centurion*, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted. Having now the neceſſary licences, a number of *Chineſe* Smiths and Carpenters went on board the next day, to treat about the work they were to do; all which they propoſed to undertake by the great. They demanded, at firſt, to the amount of a thouſand pounds ſterling, for the repairs of the ſhip, the boats, and the maſts. This the Commodore ſeemed to think an unreaſonable ſum, and endeavoured to perſuade them to work by the day; but that was a method they would not hearken to: ſo it was at laſt agreed, that the Carpenters ſhould have to the amount of about ſix hundred pounds for their work; and that the Smiths ſhould be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the ſmall work, and forty ſix ſhillings for the large.

This being regulated, the Commodore next exerted himſelf to get the moſt important buſineſs of the whole completed; I mean, the heaving down the *Centurion*, and examining the ſtate of her bottom. The firſt Lieutenant therefore was diſpatched to *Canton*, to hire two country veſſels, called in their language junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: whilſt, at the ſame time, the ground was ſmoothed on one of the neighbouring Iſlands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions; and near a hundred *Chineſe* Caulkers were ſoon ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip. But all theſe preparations, and the getting ready the careening geer, took up a great deal of time; for the *Chineſe* Caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Beſides, it was the 26th of *January* before the junks arrived; and the neceſſary materials, which were to be purchaſed at *Canton*, came down very ſlowly; partly from the diſtance of the place, and partly from the delays

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and backwardneſs of the *Chineſe* Merchants. And in this interval Mr. *Anſon* had the additional perplexity to diſcover, that his fore-maſt was broken aſunder above the upper-deck partners, and was only kept together by the fiſhes with had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the *Centurion's* people made the moſt of their time, and exerted themſelves the beſt they could; and as, by clearing the ſhip, the Carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to ſecure that effectually, whilſt the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, and was principally occaſioned by one of the bolts being worn away and looſe in the joining of the ſtern, where it was ſcarfed.

At laſt, all things being prepared, they, on the 22d of *Febrnary*, in the morning, hove out the firſt courſe of the *Centurion's* ſtarboard ſide, and had the ſatisfaction to find that her bottom appeared ſound and good; and the next day (having by that time completed the new ſheathing of the firſt courſe) they righted her again, to ſet up anew the careening geer, which had ſtretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ſhip from a ſuſpicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of *March*, when, having compleated the paying and ſheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where very ſound, they, for the laſt time, righted the ſhip, to their great joy, ſince not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but they had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the *Spaniards* whilſt the ſhip was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundleſs; for they learnt afterwards, by a *Portugueſe* veſſel, that the *Spaniards* at *Manila* had been informed, that the *Centurion* was in the *Typa*, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the Governor had ſummoned his Council, and had propoſed to them to endeavour to burn her whilſt ſhe was careening, which was an enterpriſe, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger. It was farther reported, that this ſcheme was not only propoſed, but reſolved on; and that a Captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken to perform the buſineſs for forty thouſand dollars, which he was not to receive unleſs he ſucceeded; but the Governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, and inſiſting that the Merchants ſhould advance the money, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped.

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Perhaps the Merchants ſuſpected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thouſand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by ſome who bore the Governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to aſcertain.

As ſoon as the *Centurion* was righted, they took on board her powder, and gunners ſtores, and proceeded with getting in their guns as faſt as poſſible, and then uſed their utmoſt expedition in repairing the fore-maſt, and in compleating the other articles of her reſitment. But, whilſt they were thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of *March*, by a *Chineſe* Fiſherman, who brought them intelligence, that he had been on board a large *Spaniſh* ſhip off the *Grand Ladrone*, and that there were two more in company with her. He added ſeveral particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to *Macao*, and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from *Macao* to them: and, the better to eſtabliſh the belief of his veracity, he ſaid, he deſired no money, if his information ſhould not prove true. This was preſently believed to be the forementioned expedition from *Manila*; and the Commodore immediately fitted his cannon and ſmall arms in the beſt manner he could for defence; and having then his Pinnace and Cutter in the offing, who had been ordered to examine a *Portugueſe* veſſel, which was getting under ſail, he ſent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out ſtrictly. Indeed no *Spaniſh* ſhips ever appeared, and they were ſoon ſatisfied the whole of the ſtory was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reaſon could induce the fellow to be at ſuch extraordinary pains to impoſe on them.

It was the beginning of *April* when they had new rigged the ſhip, ſtowed their proviſions and water on board, and had fitted her for the ſea; and before this time the *Chineſe* grew very uneaſy, and extremely deſirous that ſhe ſhould be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly ſet on as they could be. At length, about the third of *April*, two *Mandarine* boats came on board from *Macao*, to preſs him to leave their port; and this having been often urged before, though there had been no pretence to ſuſpect Mr. *Anſon* of any affected delays, he, at this laſt meſſage, anſwered them in a determined tone, deſiring them to give him no further trouble,

trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not ſooner. After this rebuke, the *Chineſe* (though it was not in their power to compel him to depart) immediately prohibited all proviſions from being carried on board him, and took ſuch care their injunctions ſhould be complied with, that, from thence forwards, nothing could be purchaſed at any rate whatever.

The 6th of *April*, the *Centurion* weighed from the *Typa*, and warped to the ſouthward; and, by the 15th, ſhe was got into *Macao* road, completing her water as ſhe paſſed along, ſo that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 18th, ſhe, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made ſail, and ſtood to ſea.

CHAP. VIII.

From Macao *to* Cape Eſpiritu Santo: *the taking of the* Manila *galeon, and returning back again.*

THE Commodore was now got to ſea, with his ſhip well refitted, his ſtores repleniſhed, and an additional ſtock of proviſions on board. His crew too was ſomewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his ſtay at *Macao*, the greateſt part of them Laſcars or *Indian* ſailors, and the reſt *Dutch*. He gave out at *Macao*, that he was bound to *Batavia*, and thence to *England*; and though the weſterly monſoon was now ſet in, when that paſſage is conſidered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expreſſed in the ſtrength of his ſhip, and the dexterity of his hands, he had perſuaded not only his own crew, but the people at *Macao* likewiſe, that he propoſed to try this unuſual experiment; ſo that there were many letters ſent on board him by the inhabitants of *Canton* and *Macao*, for their friends at *Batavia*.

But his real deſign was of a very different nature. For he ſuppoſed, that, inſtead of one annual ſhip from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, there would be this year, in all probability, two; ſince, by being before *Acapulco*, he had prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding ſeaſon. He therefore, not diſcouraged by his former diſaſters, reſolved again to riſque the caſualties of the *Pacific* ocean, and to cruiſe for

for theſe returning veſſels off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*, which is the firſt land they always make at the *Philippine* Iſlands: and, as *June* is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he ſhould get to his intended ſtation time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were ſaid to be ſtout veſſels, mounting forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himſelf had but two hundred and twenty-ſeven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys. But this diſproportion of ſtrength did not deter him, as he knew his ſhip to be much better fitted for a ſea engagement than theirs, and as he had reaſon to expect that his men would exert themſelves after a moſt extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immenſe wealth of theſe *Manila* galeons.

This project the Commodore had reſolved on in his own thoughts, ever ſince his leaving the coaſt of *Mexico*. And the greateſt mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in *China*, was his apprehenſion, leſt he might be thereby ſo long retarded as to let the galeons eſcape him. Indeed, at *Macao*, it was incumbent on him to keep theſe views extremely ſecret; for there being a great intercourſe and a mutual connexion of intereſts between that port and *Manila*, he had reaſon to fear, that, if his deſigns were diſcovered, intelligence would be immediately ſent to *Manila*, and meaſures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands. But being now at ſea, and entirely clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his reſolution to cruiſe for the two *Manila* ſhips, of whoſe wealth they were not ignorant: he told them he ſhould chooſe a ſtation, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were ſtout ſhips, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accuſtomed ſpirit, he was certain he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt could not fail of becoming his prize: he further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the ſtrength of the ſides of theſe ſhips, and their being impenetrable to cannon ſhot; that theſe fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of thoſe who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of thoſe preſent weak enough to give credit to

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ſo abſurd a ſtory: for his own part, he did aſſure them upon his word, that, whenever he fell in with them, he would fight them ſo near, that they ſhould find, his bullets, inſtead of being ſtopped by one of their ſhips, ſhould go through them both.

This ſpeech of the Commodore was received by his people with great joy; ſince, no ſooner had he ended, than they expreſſed their approbation, according to naval cuſtom, by three ſtrenuous cheers; and declared their determination to ſucceed, or periſh, whenever the opportunity preſented itſelf. Immediately too their hopes, which on their departure from the coaſt of *Mexico* had entirely ſubſided, were again revived; and they perſuaded themſelves, that notwithſtanding the various caſualties and diſappointments they had hitherto met with, they ſhould yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and ſhould at laſt return home enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy: for firmly relying on the aſſurance of the Commodore, that they ſhould certainly meet with the galeons, they were all of them too ſanguine to doubt a moment of maſtering them; ſo that they conſidered themſelves as having them already in their poſſeſſion. And this confidence was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole ſhip's company, that the Commodore, who had taken ſome *Chineſe* ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, enquiring one day of his Butcher, why he had lately ſeen no mutton at his table, and aſking him if all the ſheep were killed; the fellow very ſeriouſly replied, that there were indeed two ſheep left, but that, if his Honour would give him leave, he propoſed to keep thoſe for the entertainment of the General of the galeons.

When the *Centurion* left the port of *Macao*, ſhe ſtood for ſome days to the weſtward; and, on the firſt of *May*, they ſaw part of the Iſland of *Formoſa*; and, ſteering thence to the ſouthward, they, on the 4th of *May*, were in the latitude of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, as laid down by *Dampier*: but they ſuſpected his account of inaccuracy, as they knew that he had been conſiderably miſtaken in the latitude of the South end of *Formoſa*; and therefore they kept a good look-out, and about ſeven in the evening diſcovered from the maſt-head five ſmall Iſlands, which were judged to be the *Baſhees*. As they afterwards ſaw *Botel Tobago Xima*; they by this means found an opportunity of correcting the poſition of

of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the weſtward: for, by their obſervations, they eſteemed the middle of theſe Iſlands to be in 21°: 4′ North, and to bear from *Botel Tobago Xima* S. S. E. twenty leagues diſtant, that Iſland itſelf being in 21°: 57′ North.

After getting a ſight of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, they ſtood between the S. and S. W. for Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*; and, the 20th of *May* at noon, they firſt diſcovered that Cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W. near eleven leagues diſtant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with ſeveral round hummocks on it; and is exactly repreſented in the fortieth plate. As it was known that there were Centinels placed upon this Cape, to make ſignals to the *Acapulco* ſhip, when ſhe firſt falls in with the land; the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant ſails to be in taken in, to prevent being diſcovered. And, this being the ſtation where it was reſolved to cruiſe for the galeons, they kept the Cape between the South and the Weſt, and endeavoured to confine themſelves between the latitude of 12°: 50′, and 13°: 5′, the Cape itſelf lying, by their obſervations, in 12°: 40′ North, and in 4°: of Eaſt longitude from *Botel Tobago Xima*.

It was the laſt of *May*, by the foreign ſtile, when they arrived off this Cape; and the month of *June*, by the ſame ſtile, being that in which the *Manila* ſhips are uſually expected, the *Centurion's* people were now waiting each hour with the utmoſt impatience for the happy criſis which was to balance the account of all their paſt calamities. As from this time there was but ſmall employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them almoſt every day to be exerciſed in the working of the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms. This had been his practice, more or leſs, at every convenient ſeaſon, during the whole courſe of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed, it ſhould ſeem that there are few particulars of a Commander's duty of more importance, how much ſoever it may have been ſometimes overlooked or miſunderſtood: ſince it will, I ſuppoſe, be confeſſed, that in two ſhips of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the diſproportion of ſtrength, ariſing from

from a greater or leſs dexterity in the uſe of their great guns and ſmall arms, is what can ſcarcely be balanced by any other circumſtances whatever: for, as theſe are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one ſide ſhould perfectly underſtand the management of them, and ſhould have the ſkill to employ them in the moſt effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy; while the other ſide ſhould, by their awkward handling of their arms, render them rather terrible to themſelves, than miſchievous to their antagoniſts? this ſeems ſo obvious and natural a concluſion, that a perſon unacquainted with theſe matters would ſuppoſe the firſt care of every commander to be the training his people to the readieſt uſe of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common ſenſe. There are many other principles which influence our tranſactions, and there is one in particular, which, though of a very erroneous complexion, is ſcarcely ever excluded from our moſt ſerious deliberations; I mean cuſtom, or the practice of thoſe who have preceded us. This is uſually a power too mighty for reaſon to grapple with; and is often extremely troubleſome to thoſe who oppoſe it, ſince it has much of ſuperſtition in its nature, and purſues all thoſe who queſtion its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in theſe latter ages of the world, ſome lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may ſurely be expected, that the Gentlemen of the Navy, whoſe particular profeſſion hath within theſe few years been conſiderably improved by a number of new inventions, will, of all others, be the readieſt to give up any uſage which has nothing to plead in its behalf but preſcription, and will not ſuppoſe that every branch of their buſineſs hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed, it muſt be owned, that if a dexterity in the uſe of ſmall arms, for inſtance, hath been ſometimes leſs attended to on board our ſhips of war than might have been wiſhed for, it hath been rather owing to unſkilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence; ſince the common ſailors, how ſtrongly ſoever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick-ſighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever ſhewn a great contempt for the formalities practiſed in the training of land troops to the uſe

of

of their arms. But when thoſe who have undertaken to inſtruct the ſeamen have contented themſelves with inculcating only what was uſeful, in the ſimpleſt manner, they have conſtantly found their people ſufficiently docile, and the ſucceſs hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. *Anſon's* ſhip, where they were taught no more of the manual exerciſe than the ſhorteſt method of loading with cartridges, and were conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was uſually hung at the yard-arm, and where ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert, the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely ſkilful: for, beſides an uncommon readineſs in loading, they were all of them good markſmen, and ſome of them moſt extraordinary ones; whence I doubt not, but, in the uſe of ſmall arms, they were more than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to the ſame kind of exerciſe. But to return:

It was the laſt of *May*, *N. S.* as hath been already ſaid, when the *Centurion* arrived off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*; and conſequently the next day the month began in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all neceſſary preparations for receiving them, hoiſting out his long-boat, and laſhing her alongſide, that the ſhip might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons during the night. All this time too he was very ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the Cape, as not to be diſcovered. But it hath been ſince learnt, that, notwithſtanding his care, he was ſeen from the land; and advice of him was ſent to *Manila*, where, though it was at firſt diſbelieved, yet, on reiterated intelligence (for it ſeems he was ſeen more than once), the Merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce ſupplying the neceſſary ſums) to fit out a force conſiſting of two ſhips of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her ſtation. With this view ſome of theſe veſſels actually weighed; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the Commerce and the Governor diſagreed, ſo that the enterpriſe was laid aſide. This frequent diſcovery of the *Centurion* from the ſhore was ſomewhat extraordinary; ſince the pitch of the Cape is not high, and ſhe uſually kept from ten to fifteen leagues diſtant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was ſuppoſed, they

found

found themſelves in the morning within ſeven leagues of the land.

As the month of *June* advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increaſed. And, I think, no better idea can be given of their great eagerneſs on this occaſion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I preſume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the buſineſs of their cruiſe, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have ſelected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

" *May* 31, Exerciſing our men at their quarters, in great " expectation of meeting with the galeons very ſoon, this be" ing the eleventh of *June*, their ſtile."

" *June* 3, Keeping in our ſtations, and looking out for " the galeon."

" *June* 5, Begin now to be in great expectation, this be" ing the middle of *June*, their ſtile."

" *June* 11, Begin to grow impatient at not ſeeing the " galeons."

" *June* 13, The wind having blown freſh eaſterly for the " forty-eight hours paſt, gives us great expectations of ſeeing " the galeons ſoon."

" *June* 15, Cruiſing on and off, and looking out ſtrictly."

" *June* 19, This being the laſt day of *June N. S.* the ga" leons, if they arrive at all, muſt appear ſoon."

From theſe ſamples it is ſufficiently evident, how completely the treaſure of the galeons had engroſſed their imagination, and how anxiouſly they paſſed the latter part of their cruiſe; when the certainty of the arrival of thoſe veſſels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of *June O. S.* being juſt a month after their gaining their ſtation, they were relieved out of this ſtate of uncertainty; for, at ſun-riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt-head, in the S. E. quarter. On this, a general joy ſpread through the whole ſhip; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected ſoon to deſcry the other. The Commodore inſtantly ſtood towards her, and at half an hour after ſeven they were near enough to ſee her from the *Centurion's* deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top gallant ſails:

This

This was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort, to haſten her up; and therefore the *Centurion* fired a gun to leeward, to amuſe her. The Commodore was ſurpriſed to find, that during all this interval the galeon did not change her courſe, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the *Centurion*, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league diſtant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, ſo that ſhe could not now eſcape; and, no ſecond ſhip appearing, it was concluded that ſhe had been ſeparated from her conſort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her fore-ſail, and brought to under top-ſails, with her head to the northward, hoiſting *Spaniſh* colours, and having the ſtandard of *Spain* flying at the top-gallant maſt-head. Mr. *Anſon*, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the *Centurion*, and had taken every poſſible meaſure, both for the moſt effectual exertion of his ſmall ſtrength, and for the avoiding the confuſion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choiceſt hands and beſt markſmen, whom he diſtributed into his tops, and who fully anſwered his expectation by the ſignal ſervices they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a ſufficient number to each great gun, in the cuſtomary manner; he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be ſolely employed in loading it, whilſt the reſt of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving abot the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded. By this management, he was enabled to make uſe of all his guns; and, inſtead of whole broad ſides, with intervals between them, he kept up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion; whence he doubted not to procure very ſignal advantages; for it is common with the *Spaniards* to fall down upon the decks, when they ſee a broad-ſide preparing, and to continue in that poſture till it is given; after which they riſe again, and, preſuming the danger to be for ſome time over, work their guns, and fire with great briſkneſs, till another broad ſide is ready; but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impoſſible.

The *Centurion* being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, ſeveral

ſqualls of wind and rain, which often obſcured the galeon from their ſight; but, whenever it cleared up, they obſerved her reſolutely lying to. Towards one o'clock, the *Centurion* hoiſted her broad pendant and colours, ſhe being then within gun-ſhot of the enemy; and the Commodore perceiving the *Spaniards* to have neglected clearing their ſhip till that time, as he ſaw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace guns, to diſturb them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage before they were within piſtol ſhot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her ſtern-chaſers; and the *Centurion* getting her ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft, that, if neceſſary, ſhe might be ready for boarding, the *Spaniards*, in a bravado, rigged their ſpritſail-yard fore and aft likewiſe. Soon after, the *Centurion* came a-breaſt of the enemy within piſtol-ſhot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of *Jalapay*, from which they were about ſeven leagues diſtant: and now the engagement began in earneſt, and, for the firſt half hour, Mr. *Anſon* over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideneſs of his ports, he could traverſe almoſt all his guns upon the enemy, whilſt the galeon could only bring part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had ſtuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen top. This accident, ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the *Centurion's* wads, threw the enemy into the utmoſt terror, and alſo alarmed the Commodore; for he feared leſt the galeon ſhould be burnt, and leſt he himſelf too might ſuffer by her driving on board him: however, the *Spaniards* at laſt freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole maſs, which was in flames, into the ſea. All this interval, the *Centurion* kept her firſt advantageous poſition, firing her cannon with great regularity and briſkneſs; whilſt at the ſame time the galeon's decks lay open to her top-men, who, having at their firſt volley driven the *Spaniards* from their tops, made prodigious havock with their ſmall arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galeon himſelf. Thus the action proceeded for at leaſt half an hour;

But

but then the *Centurion* loſt the ſuperiority ariſing from her original ſituation, and was cloſe along-ſide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briſkly for near an hour longer; yet even in this poſture the Commodore's grape-ſhot ſwept their decks ſo effectually, and the number of their ſlain and wounded became ſo conſiderable, that they began to fall into great diſorder, eſpecially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himſelf. Their confuſion was viſible from on board the Commodore; for the ſhips were ſo near, that ſome of the *Spaniſh* officers were ſeen running about with much aſſiduity, to prevent the deſertion of their men from their quarters: but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns with more judgement than uſual, they yielded up the conteſt; and the galeon's colours being ſtruck off the enſign-ſtaff in the beginning of the engagement, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main-top-gallant maſt-head; the perſon who was employed to perform this office having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given expreſs orders to his people to deſiſt from firing.

Thus was the *Centurion* poſſeſſed of this very rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the *Nſtra Signora de Cobadonga*, and was commanded by General *Don Jeronimo de Montero*, a *Portugueſe*, who was the moſt approved officer for ſkill and courage of any employed in that ſervice. The galeon was much larger than the *Centurion*, and had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furniſhed with ſmall arms, and was particularly provided againſt boarding, both by her cloſe quarters, and by a ſtrong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waiſt, and was defended by half-pikes. She had ſixty-ſeven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilſt the *Centurion* had only two killed, and a Lieutenant and ſixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered; of ſo little conſequence are the moſt deſtructive arms in untutored and unpractiſed hands!

The treaſure thus taken by the *Centurion* having been for at leaſt eighteen months, the great object of their hopes, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſport on board, when, after all their reiterated diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their

wiſhes accompliſhed: but their joy was near being ſuddenly damped by a moſt tremendous incident; for no ſooner had the galeon ſtruck, than one of the Lieutenants coming to Mr. *Anſon*, to congratulate him on his prize, whiſpered him at the ſame time, that the *Centurion* was dangerouſly on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing the fire, which was happily done in a ſhort time, though its appearance at firſt was extremely terrible. It ſeems, ſome cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, and the blaſt had communicated its flame to a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch-way, near the after-powder-room, where the great ſmother and ſmoke of the oakum occaſioned the apprehenſion of a more extended and miſchievous conflagration: all hopes too of avoiding its fury, by eſcaping on board the prize, had inſtantly vaniſhed: for at the ſame moment the galeon fell on board the *Centurion* on the ſtarboard quarter, though ſhe was fortunately cleared without doing or receiving any conſiderable damage.

The Commodore appointed the *Manila* veſſel to be a poſt ſhip in his Majeſty's ſervice, and gave the command of her to Mr. *Saumarez*, his firſt Lieutenant; who, before night, ſent on board the *Centurion* all the *Spaniſh* priſoners, except ſuch as were thought the moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon: and now the Commodore learnt, from ſome of theſe priſoners, that the other ſhip, which we had kept in the port of *Acapulco* the preceding year, inſtead of returning in company with the preſent prize, as was expected, had ſet ſail from *Acapulco* alone much ſooner than uſual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of *Manila* long before the *Centurion* arrived off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*; ſo that Mr. *Anſon*, notwithſtanding his preſent ſucceſs, had great reaſon to regret his loſs of time at *Macao*, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes inſtead of one.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, reſolved to make the beſt of his way with his prize for the river of *Canton*, being in the mean time fully employed in ſecuring his priſoners, and in removing the treaſure from on board the galeon into the *Centurion*. The laſt of theſe operations was too important to be poſtponed; for, as the navigation to

Canton was through ſeas but little known, and where, from the ſeaſon of the year, very tempeſtuous weather might be expected, it was of great conſequence that the treaſure ſhould be ſent on board the *Centurion*, which ſhip, by the preſence of the Commander in Chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtleſs better provided againſt all the caſualties of winds and ſeas than the galeon: and the ſecuring the priſoners was a matter of ſtill more conſequence; as not only the poſſeſſion of the treaſure but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and diſquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and ſome of them, when they were brought on board the *Centurion*, and had obſerved how ſlenderly ſhe was manned, and the large proportion which the ſtriplings bore to the reſt, could not help expreſſing themſelves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from riſing, was by placing all, but the officers and the wounded, in the hold, where, to give them as much air as poſſible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid any danger that might happen whilſt the *Centurion's* people ſhould be employed upon deck) there was a ſquare partition of thick planks, made in the ſhape of a funnel, which encloſed each hatch-way on the lower deck: theſe funnels ſerved to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them; and, at the ſame time, added greatly to the ſecurity of the ſhip; for, they being ſeven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the *Spaniards* to have clambered up; and, ſtill to augment that difficulty, four ſwivel guns, loaded with muſquet-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a ſentinel with lighted match was poſted there ready to fire into the hold amongſt them, in caſe of any diſturbance. Their officers, who amounted to ſeventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the firſt Lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of ſix men; and the General, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabin, with a ſentinel always with him; every priſoner too was ſufficiently apprized, that any violence or diſturbance would be puniſhed with inſtant death; and, that the *Centurion's* people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithſtanding theſe regulations, any tumult ſhould ariſe.

ariſe, the ſmall arms were conſtantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilſt all the men went armed with cutlaſhes and piſtols; and no officer pulled off his cloaths when he ſlept; or, when he lay down, omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

Theſe meaſures were obviouſly neceſſary, conſidering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been expoſed, had they been leſs careful. Indeed, the ſufferings of the poor priſoners, though impoſſible to be alleviated, were much to be commiſerated; for the weather was extremely hot, the ſtench of the hold loathſome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but juſt ſufficient to keep them alive; it not being practicable to ſpare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themſelves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this conſidered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who expired the ſame night they were taken; though it muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt part of them were ſtrangely metamorphoſed by the heat of the hold; for, when they were firſt brought on board, they were ſightly robuſt fellows; but when, after above a month's impriſonment, they were diſcharged in the river of *Canton*, they were reduced to mere ſkeletons; and their air and looks correſponded much more to the conception formed of ghoſts and ſpectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in ſecuring the treaſure and the priſoners, the Commodore, as hath been ſaid, ſtood for the river of *Canton*; and, on the 30th of *June*, at ſix in the evening, got ſight of Cape *Delangano*, which then bore Weſt ten leagues diſtant. The next day he made the *Baſſee Iſlands*; and the wind being ſo far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was reſolved to ſtand through between *Grafton* and *Monmouth Iſlands*, where the paſſage ſeemed to be clear; though, in getting through, the ſea had a very dangerous aſpect, for it ripled and foamed, with all the appearance of being full of breakers, which was ſtill more terrible as it was then night: but the ſhips got through very ſafe, the prize keeping a-head; and it was found, that the agitation of the ſea, which had alarmed them, had been occaſioned only by a ſtrong tide. I muſt here obſerve, that, though the *Baſſee Iſlands* are uſually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the weſtward, which, ſeeing the channels amongſt them

them are not at all known, makes it adviſeable for ſhips rather to paſs to the northward or ſouthward than through them; as indeed the Commodore propoſed to have gone to the northward, between them and *Formoſa*, had it been poſſible for him to have weathered them: from hence the *Centurion* ſteering the proper courſe to the river of *Canton*, ſhe, on the 8th of *July*, diſcovered the Iſland of *Supata*, the weſternmoſt of the *Lema* Iſlands, being the double-peaked rock, particularly delineated in the view of the Iſlands of *Lema*, formerly referred to. This Iſland of *Supata* they made to be a hundred and thirty-nine leagues diſtant from *Grafton's Iſland*, and to bear from it North 82° 37′ Weſt: and, on the 11th, having taken on board two *Chineſe* Pilots, one for the *Centurion*, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of *Macao*.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galeon were well aſcertained; and it was found that ſhe had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 *oz.* of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of ſmall account in compariſon of the ſpecie: and, this being the Commodore's laſt prize, it hence appears, that all the treaſure taken by the *Centurion* was not much ſhort of 400,000 *l.* independent of the ſhips and merchandize, which ſhe either burnt or deſtroyed, and which, by the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, could not amount to ſo little as 600,000 *l.* more; ſo that the whole damage done the enemy by our ſquadron did doubtleſs exceed a million ſterling. To which if there be added the great expence of the Court of *Spain*, in fitting out *Pizarro*, and in paying the additional charges in *America* incurred on our account, together with the loſs of their men of war; the total of all theſe articles will be a moſt exorbitant ſum, and is the ſtrongeſt conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous diſadvantages, did yet prove ſo extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I ſhall only add, that there were taken on board the galeon ſeveral draughts and journals; from ſome of which many of the particulars recited in the tenth chapter of the ſecond book are collected. Among the reſt, there was found a chart of all the Ocean between the *Philippines* and the coaſt of *Mexico*, which was what was made uſe of by the galeon in her own navigation. A copy of this draught, corrected in ſome

places by our own obſervations, is here annexed, together with the route of the galeon traced thereon from her own journals, and likewiſe the route of the *Centurion* through the ſame Ocean. This is the chart formerly referred to in the account of the *Manila* trade: but, to render it ſtill more complete, the obſerved variation of the needle is annexed to ſeveral parts, both of the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* track; which addition is of the greateſt conſequence, as no obſervations of this kind in the northern parts of the *Pacific* Ocean have yet, to my knowledge, been publiſhed; and as the quantity of that variation ſo nearly correſponds to what Dr. *Halley* predicted from his Theory above fifty years ago. With this digreſſion I ſhall end this chapter, and leave the *Centurion* and her prize at anchor off *Macao*, preparing to enter the river of *Canton*.

CHAP. IX.

Tranſactions in the river of Canton.

THE Commodore, having taken Pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of *Canton*; and on the 14th of *July*, caſt anchor ſhort of the *Bocca Tigris*, which is a narrow paſſage forming the mouth of that river: This entrance he propoſed to ſtand through the next day, and to run up as far as *Tiger Iſland*, which is a very ſafe road, ſecured from all winds: but, whilſt the *Centurion* and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was ſent off from the *Mandarine*, commanding the forts at *Bocca Tigris* to examine what the ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr. *Anſon* informed the officer, that his own ſhip was a man of war belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into *Canton* river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the hurricanes which were then approaching, and that as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted he ſhould ſet ſail for *England*. The officer then deſired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a liſt of all which, he ſaid, was to be ſent to the Government of *Canton*; but, when theſe articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the *Centurion* four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and ſeemed to be terrified with the

the bare recital, ſaying, that no ſhips ever came into *Canton* river armed in that manner; adding, that he durſt not ſet down the whole of this force, leſt it ſhould too much alarm the Regency. After he had finiſhed his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he deſired to leave two Cuſtom-houſe officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that, though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties of any kind; yet, for the ſatisfaction of the *Chineſe*, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themſelves be witneſſes how punctually he ſhould comply with his inſtructions. The officer ſeemed amazed when Mr. *Anſon* mentioned being exempted from all duties, and anſwered, that the Emperor's duty muſt be paid by every ſhip that came into his ports; and it is ſuppoſed, that, on this occaſion, private directions were given by him to the *Chineſe* Pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the *Bocca Tigris*; which makes it neceſſary more particularly to deſcribe that entrance.

The *Bocca Tigris* is a narrow paſſage, little more than muſket-ſhot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the ſtarboard-ſide being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embraſures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, ſeeming to be four or ſix pounders; the fort on the larboard-ſide is a large caſtle, reſembling thoſe old buildings which here in *England* we often find diſtinguiſhed by the name; it is ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, mounted, which were ſuppoſed to exceed ſix pounders. Theſe are the defences which ſecure the river of *Canton*; and which the *Chineſe* (extremely defective in all military ſkill) have imagined were ſufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the deſcription of theſe forts, that they could have given no obſtruction to Mr. *Anſon's* paſſage, even if they had been well ſupplied with gunners and ſtores; and therefore, though the Pilot, after the *Chineſe* officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip, till he had leave from the forts; yet, as it was neceſſary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the Pilot to

carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ſhip ran a-ground, he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The Pilot, awed by theſe threats, carried the ſhip through ſafely, the forts not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. Indeed, the poor Pilot did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen; for when he came on ſhore, he was ſeized and ſent to priſon, and was vigorouſly diſciplined with the bamboo: however, he found means to get at Mr. *Anſon* afterwards, to deſire of him ſome recompence for the chaſtiſement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very ſignificant marks about him; Mr. *Anſon* therefore, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, gave him ſuch a ſum of money, as would at any time have enticed a *Chineſe* to have undergone a dozen baſtinadings.

Nor was the Pilot the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; for the Commodore ſoon after ſeeing ſome royal junks paſs by him from *Bocca Tigris* towards *Canton*, he learnt, on enquiry, that the *Mandarine* commanding the forts was a priſoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to *Canton*, where it was expected he would be ſeverely puniſhed for having permitted the ſhips to paſs. Upon the Commodore's urging the unreaſonableneſs of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwiſe, and explaining to the *Chineſe* the great ſuperiority his ſhips would have had over the forts, by the number and ſize of their guns, the *Chineſe* ſeemed to acquieſce in his reaſoning, and allowed that their forts could not have ſtopped him; but they ſtill aſſerted, that the *Mandarine* would infallibly ſuffer, for not having done what all his judges were convinced was impoſſible. To ſuch indefenſible abſurdities are thoſe obliged to ſubmit, who think themſelves concerned to ſupport their authority, when the neceſſary force is wanting! But to return:

On the 16th of *July*, the Commodore ſent his ſecond Lieutenant to *Canton*, with a letter for the Viceroy, informing him of the reaſon of the *Centurion's* putting into that port; and that the Commodore himſelf ſoon propoſed to repair to *Canton*, to pay a viſit to his Excellency. The Lieutenant was very civily received, and was promiſed that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to the Commodore the next day. In the mean time, Mr. *Anſon* gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to *Canton*, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When theſe priſoners got to *Canton*,

Canton, the Regency ſent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly by what means they came into Mr. *Anſon's* power. It luckily happened that on this occaſion the priſoners were honeſt enough to declare, that, as the Kings of *Great Britain* and of *Spain* were at war, they had propoſed to themſelves the taking of the *Centurion*, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: and, being queſtioned as to their uſage on board, they frankly acknwledged that they had been treated by the Commodore much better than they believed they ſhould have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the *Chineſe*, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's military force, had yet ſuſpected his morals, and had conſidered him rather as a lawleſs free-booter, than as one commiſſioned by the State for the revenge of public injuries: but they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important perſon; to which, perhaps, the vaſt treaſure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquiſition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the eſteem and reverence of the *Chineſe* Nation.

In this examination of the *Spaniſh* priſoners, though the *Chineſe* had no reaſon in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumſtances which appeared to them ſo ſingular as to deſerve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great diſproportion of men between the *Centurion* and the galeon; the other was the humanity with which the people of the galeon were treated after they were taken. The *Mandarines* therefore aſked the *Spaniards*, how they came to be overpowered by ſo inferior a force; and how it happened, ſince the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*. To the firſt of theſe enquiries the *Spaniards* anſwered, that though they had more men than the *Centurion*, yet ſhe, being intended ſolely for war, had a great ſuperiority in the ſize of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a veſſel fitted out principally for traffic; and, as to the ſecond queſtion, they told the *Chineſe*, that, amongſt the nations of *Europe*, it was not cuſtomary to put to death thoſe who ſubmitted; though they readily owned, that the Commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both

them and their countrymen who had formerly been in his power with very unuſual courteſy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed between nations at war with each other. Theſe replies fully ſatisfied the *Chineſe*, and at the ſame time wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of *July*, in the morning, three *Mandarines*, with a great number of boats, and a vaſt retinue, came on board the *Centurion*, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of *Canton's* order for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for Pilots to carry the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar; and at the ſame time they delivered him a meſſage from the Viceroy, in anſwer to the letter ſent to *Canton*. The ſubſtance of the meſſage was, that the Viceroy deſired to be excuſed from receiving the Commodore's viſit during the then exceſſive hot weather; becauſe the aſſembling the *Mandarines* and ſoldiers, neceſſary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that, in *September*, when the weather would be more temperate, he ſhould be glad to ſee both the Commodore himſelf, and the *Engliſh* Captain of the other ſhip, that was with him. As Mr. *Anſon* knew that an expreſs had been diſpatched to the Court at *Pekin*, with an account of the *Centurion* and her prize being arrived in the river of *Canton*; he had no doubt, but the principal motive for putting off the viſit was, that the Regency at *Canton* might gain time to receive the Emperor's inſtructions, about their behaviour on this unuſual affair.

When the *Mandarines* had delivered their meſſage, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ſhips: but he immediately told them, that he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind; that, as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reaſonably deemed within the meaning of the Emperor's orders, which were doubtleſs calculated for trading veſſels only; adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war by nations accuſtomed to their reception, and that his maſter's orders expreſsly forbad him from paying any acknowledgement for his ſhips anchoring in any port whatever.

The *Mandarines* being thus cut ſhort on the ſubject of the duty, they ſaid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this

this was a requeſt to the Commodore, that he would releaſe the priſoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the Viceroy of *Canton* apprehended the Emperor, his maſter, might be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed, that perſons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. *Anſon* himſelf was extremely deſirous to get rid of the *Spaniards*, having, on his firſt arrival, ſent about a hundred of them to *Mycao*, and thoſe who remained, which were near four hundred more, were, on many accounts, a great incumbrance to him: however, to enhance the favour, he at firſt raiſed ſome difficulties; but permitting himſelf to be prevailed on, he at laſt told the *Mandarines*, that, to ſhew his readineſs to oblige the Viceroy, he would releaſe the priſoners, whenever they, the *Chineſe*, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjuſted, the *Mandarines* departed; and, on the 28th of *July*, two *Chineſe* junks were ſent from *Canton*, to take on board the priſoners, and to carry them to *Macao*: and the Commodore, agreeable to his promiſe, diſmiſſed them all, and directed his Purſer to allow them eight days proviſion for their ſubſiſtence, during their ſailing down the river: ſince, before they were diſpatched, the *Centurion* was arrived at her moorings, above the ſecond bar, where ſhe and her prize propoſed to continue till the monſoon ſhifted.

Though the ſhips, in conſequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſion for their daily conſumption; yet it was impoſſible that the Commodore could proceed to *England* without laying in a large quantity both of proviſions and naval ſtores, for his uſe during the voyage. The procuring this ſupply was attended with much perplexity; for there were people at *Canton* who had undertaken to furniſh him with biſcuit, and whatever elſe he wanted; and his linguiſts, towards the middle of *September*, had aſſured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be ſent on board him immediately: but a fortnight being elapſed, and nothing brought, the Commodore ſent to *Canton*, to enquire more particularly into the reaſons of this diſappointment; and he had ſoon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illuſion; that no order had been procured from the Viceroy, to furniſh him with his ſea-ſtores, as had been pretended; that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any one of the articles, in readi-

neſs, which had been promiſed him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the leaſt ſtep to comply with their agreement. This was moſt diſagreeable news, and made it ſuſpected, that the furniſhing the *Centurion* for her return to *Great Britain* might prove a more troubleſome matter than had been hitherto imagined; eſpecially too as the month of *September* was nearly ended, without Mr. *Anſon's* having received any meſſage from the Viceroy of *Canton*.

And here perhaps it may be expected, that a ſatisfactory account ſhould be given of the motives of the *Chineſe* for this faithleſs procedure: however, as I have already, in a former chapter, made ſome kind of conjectures about a ſimilar event, I ſhall not repeat them again in this place; but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, after all, it may perhaps be impoſſible for an *European*, ignorant of the cuſtoms and manners of that Nation, to be fully appriſed of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be aſſerted, that in artifice, falſehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the *Chineſe* are difficult to be paralelled by any other people: but then the particular application of theſe talents, and the manner in which they operate on every emergency, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration; ſo that though it may be ſurely concluded, that the *Chineſe* had ſome intereſt in thus amuſing the Commodore, yet it may not be eaſy to aſſign the individual views by which they were influenced: and, that I may not be thought too ſevere in aſcribing to this Nation a fraudulent and ſelfiſh turn of temper, ſo contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the *Romiſh* Miſſionaries, I ſhall here mention an extraordinary tranſaction or two, which I conceive will be ſome kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the Commodore lay firſt at *Macao*, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, deſired leave of him to go on ſhore every day on a neighbouring Iſland, imagining that a walk on the land would contribute greatly to the reſtoring of his health. The Commodore would have diſſuaded him from it, ſuſpecting the tricks of the *Chineſe*; but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him thither. The firſt day

he

he was put on ſhore he took his exerciſe, and returned without receiving any moleſtation, or even ſeeing any of the inhabitants; but the ſecond day he was aſſaulted, juſt after his arrival, by a great number of *Chineſe*, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him ſo violently with the handles of their hoes, that they ſoon laid him on the ground, incapable of reſiſtance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his ſword, the hilt of which was ſilver, his money, his watch, gold headed cane, ſnuff-box, ſleeve-buttons, and hat, with ſeveral other trinkets. In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at a little diſtance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any relief; till at laſt one of them flew on the fellow who had the ſword in his poſſeſſion, and wreſting it out of his hands, drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the *Chineſe*, ſome of whom he could not have failed of killing. But the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to deſiſt, thinking it more prudent to ſubmit to the preſent violence, than to embroil his Commander in an inextricable ſquabble with the *Chineſe* Government, by the death of their ſubjects: which calmneſs in this Gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a perſon of an uncommon ſpirit, and of a ſomewhat haſty temper. By this means the *Chineſe* ſpeedily recovered the poſſeſſion of the ſword, when they perceived it was prohibited to be made uſe of againſt them, and carried off their whole booty unmoleſted. No ſooner were they gone, than a *Chineſe* on horſeback very well dreſſed, and who had the air and appearance of a Gentleman, came down to the ſea-ſide, and, as far as could be underſtood by his ſigns, ſeemed to cenſure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiſerate the officer, being wonderfully officious to aſſiſt in getting him on board the boat: but, notwithſtanding this behaviour, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully made out the juſtice of thoſe ſuſpicions.

When the boat returned on board, and the officer reported what had paſſed to the Commodore, he immediately complained of it to the *Mandarine*, who attended to ſee his ſhip ſupplied; but the *Mandarine* coolly obſerved, that the boat ought not to have gone on ſhore, promiſing, however, that if the thieves could be found, they ſhould be puniſhed: though

though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of anſwering, that he would never give himſelf any trouble in ſearching them out. However, a conſiderable time afterwards, when ſome *Chineſe* boats were ſelling proviſions to the *Centurion*, the perſon who had wreſted the ſword from the *Chineſe* came with eagerneſs to the Commodore, to aſſure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a proviſion-boat along-ſide the ſhip; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to ſeize him; and he was accordingly ſecured on board the ſhip, where ſtrange diſcoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being firſt apprehended, expreſſed ſo much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died on the ſpot; the *Mandarine* too, who attended the ſhip, had viſibly no ſmall ſhare of concern on the occaſion. Indeed he had reaſon enough to be alarmed, ſince it was ſoon apparent, that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the Commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himſelf order him to be ſhot, the *Mandarine* immediately put off the magiſterial air, with which he had at firſt pretended to demand him, and begged his releaſe in the moſt abject manner. But the Commodore ſeeming to be inflexible, there came on board, in leſs than two hours time, five or ſix of the neighbouring *Mandarines*, who all joined in the ſame intreaty, and, with a view of facilitating their ſuit, offered a large ſum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilſt they were thus ſoliciting, it was diſcovered that the *Mandarine* the moſt active amongſt them, and who was thence preſumed to be moſt intereſted in the event, was the very Gentleman who rode up to the officer juſt after the robbery, and who pretended to be ſo much diſpleaſed with the villainy of his countrymen. On further inquiry, it was alſo found, that he was the *Mandarine* of the Iſland; and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the Peaſants to commit that infamous action. This eaſily accounted for his extraordinary vigilance in the preſent conjuncture; ſince, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were caſually thrown out, it ſeemed, that he and his brethren, who were every one privy to the tranſaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at *Canton*, where the firſt article of their puniſhment would be the ſtripping them

them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chaſtiſement ſo lucrative to themſelves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. *Anſon* was not diſpleaſed to have caught the *Chineſe* in this dilemma; he entertained himſelf for ſome time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with ſcorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief ſhould certainly be ſhot; but, as he then foreſaw that he ſhould be forced to take ſhelter in their ports a ſecond time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the Magiſtrates would be of great ſervice to him, he at length permitted himſelf to be perſuaded, and as a favour releaſed his priſoner, though not till the *Mandarine* had collected and returned all that had been ſtolen from the officer, even to the minuteſt trifle.

But, notwithſtanding this inſtance of the good intelligence between the magiſtrates and criminals, the ſtrong addiction of the *Chineſe* to lucre often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority, that protects them, of its proper quota of the pillage: for not long after the above-mentioned tranſaction, (the former *Mandarine*, attendant on the ſhip, being, in the mean time, relieved by another) the Commodore loſt a top-maſt from his ſtern, which, on the moſt diligent enquiry, could not be traced out. As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at *Macao* to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world; he was extremely deſirous to recover it, and publiſhed a conſiderable reward to any who would bring it to him again. There were ſuſpicions from the firſt of its being ſtolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likelieſt method of getting it back. Hereupon, ſoon after, the *Mandarine* informed him, that ſome of his, the *Mandarine's*, attendants had found the top-maſt, deſiring the Commodore to ſend his boats to fetch it; which being done, the *Mandarine's* people received the promiſed reward. It ſeems, the Commodore had told the *Mandarine*, that he would make him a preſent beſides, on account of the care he had taken in directing it to be ſearched for; and accordingly, Mr. *Anſon* gave a ſum of money to his Linguiſt, to be delivered to the *Mandarine*; but the Linguiſt, knowing that the *Chineſe* had been paid, and ignorant that a further preſent had been promiſed, kept the money himſelf. However, the *Mandarine*

darine fully confiding in Mr. *Anſon's* word, and ſuſpecting the Linguiſt, he took occaſion, one morning, to admire the ſize of the *Centurion's* maſts, and thence, on a pretended ſudden recollection, he made a digreſſion to the top-maſt which had been loſt, and aſked Mr. *Anſon* if he had not got it again. Mr. *Anſon* preſently perceived the bent of this converſation, and enquired of him if he had not received the money from the Linguiſt, and, finding he had not, he offered to pay it him on the ſpot. But this the *Mandarine* refuſed, having now ſomewhat more in view than the ſum which had been detained. For the next day the Linguiſt was ſeized, and was doubtleſs mulcted of whatever he had gotten in the Commodore's ſervice, which was ſuppoſed to be little leſs than two thouſand dollars; being beſides ſo ſeverely baſtinadoed, that it was wonderful he eſcaped with his life. And when he was upbraided by the Commodore (to whom he afterwards came a begging) with his folly in riſquing this ſevere chaſtiſement, and the loſs of all he was worth, for the lucre of fifty dollars, the preſent of which he defrauded the *Mandarine*; he had no other excuſe to make, than the ſtrong bias of his Nation to diſhoneſty, replying, in his broken jargon, *Chineſe man very great rogue truly, but have faſhion, no can help.*

It were endleſs to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practiſed on the Commodore and his people, by this intereſted race. The method of buying proviſions in *China* being by weight, the tricks the *Chineſe* made uſe of to augment the weight of what they ſold to the *Centurion* were almoſt incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being brought for the ſhips ſtore, the greateſt part of them preſently died: this ſpread a general alarm on board, it being apprehended that they had been killed by poiſon; but on examination it appeared, that it was only owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight, the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the *Chineſe* Butchers, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that a carcaſe, hung up all night that the water might drain from it, had loſt above a ſtone of its weight. And when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was diſcovered that the *Chineſe* gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt, and having thus excited them

them to drink great quantities of water, they then took meaſures to prevent them from diſcharging it again by urine, and ſold the tortured animal in this inflated ſtate. When the Commodore firſt put to ſea from *Macao*, they practiſed an artifice of another kind; for as the *Chineſe* never ſcruple eating any food that dies of itſelf, they contrived, by ſome ſecret practices, that great part of his live ſea ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, hoping to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſes, which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the *Centurion* was out of ſight of land, many of the *Chineſe* boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. Theſe inſtances may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manners of this celebrated Nation, which is often recommended to the reſt of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The Commodore, towards the end of *September*, having found out (as has been ſaid) that thoſe who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea proviſions and ſtores had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not invited him to an interview according to his promiſe, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to ſurmount the difficulties he was under, without going to *Canton*, and viſiting the Viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of *September*, he ſent a meſſage to the *Mandarine* who attended the *Centurion*, to inform him, that he, the Commodore, intended, on the firſt of *October*, to proceed in his boat to *Canton:* adding, that the day after he got there, he ſhould notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and ſhould deſire him to fix a time for his audience. This meſſage being delivered to the *Mandarine*, he returned no other anſwer, than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the mean time, all things were prepared for this expedition: and the boat's crew, which Mr. *Anſon* propoſed to take with him, were cloathed in an uniform dreſs, reſembling that of the watermen on the *Thames*; they were in number eighteen and a Cockſwain; they had ſcarlet jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoaſts, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, beſides ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even aſſerted, that the payment of the cuſtomary duties for the *Centurion* and her prize would be demanded by the Regency of *Canton*, and would be inſiſted on, previous to their granting a permiſſion to victual the ſhip for her future voyage; the Commodore,

Commodore, who was reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, took all poſſible precaution to prevent the *Chineſe* from facilitating the ſucceſs of their unſeaſonable pretenſions, by having him in their power at *Canton*. And therefore, the better to ſecure his ſhip, and the great treaſure on board her, againſt their projects, he appointed his firſt Lieutenant Mr. *Brett* to be Captain of the *Centurion* under him, giving him proper inſtructions for his conduct; directing him particularly, if he, the Commodore, ſhould be detained at *Canton* on account of the duties in diſpute, to take out the men from the *Centurion's* prize, and to deſtroy her, and then to proceed down the river through the *Bocca Tigris*, with the *Centurion* alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr. *Anſon*.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, which were not unknown to the *Chineſe*, it ſhould ſeem as if their deliberations were in ſome ſort perplexed thereby. It is reaſonable to imagine, that they were in general very deſirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps ſolely in conſideration of the amount of thoſe dues, but to keep up their reputation for addreſs and ſubtilty, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already ſo frequently inſiſted. However, as they now foreſaw that they had no other method of ſucceeding than by violence, and that even againſt this the Commodore was prepared; they were at laſt diſpoſed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themſelves in a hoſtile meaſure, which they found would only expoſe them to the riſque of having the whole navigation of their port deſtroyed, without any certain proſpect of gaining their favourite point.

But, though there is reaſon to conclude that theſe were their thoughts at that time; yet they could not depart at once from the evaſive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered; ſince, when the Commodore, on the morning of the firſt of *October*, was preparing to ſet out for *Canton*, his Linguiſt came to him from the *Mandarine* who attended the ſhip, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of *Canton*, deſiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days. The reality of this meſſage was not then queſtioned; but, in the afternoon of the ſame day, another Linguiſt came on board, who, with much ſeeming fright, told Mr. *Anſon*, that the Viceroy had expected

expected him up that day; that the Council was aſſembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and, that the Viceroy was highly offended at the diſappointment, and had ſent the Commodore's Linguiſt to priſon, chained, ſuppoſing that the whole had been owing to the Linguiſt's negligence. This plauſible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was ſome treachery deſigned him, which he could not yet fathom. And though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the leaſt foundation; yet, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, this falſehood was ſo well ſupported by the artifices of the *Chineſe* Merchants at *Canton*, that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter ſigned by all the Supercargoes of the *Engliſh* ſhips then at that place, expreſſing their great uneaſineſs about what had happened, and intimating their fears that ſome inſult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully ſatisfied of the miſtake. To this letter Mr. *Anſon* replied, that he did not believe there had been a miſtake; but was perſuaded it was a forgery of the *Chineſe*, to prevent his viſiting the Viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to *Canton* on the 13th of *October*, confident that the *Chineſe* would not dare to offer him any inſult, as well knowing he ſhould want neither power nor inclination to make them a proper return.

On the 13th of *October*, the Commodore continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the *Engliſh*, *Daniſh*, and *Swediſh* ſhips came on board the *Centurion*, to accompany him to *Canton*, for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which, on this occaſion, ſent their boats to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by *Wampo*, where the *European* veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them but the *French*, and in the evening he arrived ſafely at *Canton*. His reception in that city, and the moſt material tranſactions from henceforward, till the expedition was brought to a period, by the return of the *Centurion* to *Great Britain*, ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings at the city of Canton, *and the return of the* Centurion *to* England.

WHEN the Commodore arrived at *Canton*, he was viſited by the principal *Chineſe* Merchants, who affected to appear very much pleaſed that he had met with no obſtruction in getting thither; and who thence pretended to conclude, that the Viceroy was ſatisfied about the former miſtake, the reality of which they ſtill inſiſted on. In the converſation which paſſed upon this occaſion, they took care to inſinuate, that as ſoon as the Viceroy ſhould be informed that Mr. *Anſon* was at *Canton*, which they promiſed ſhould be done the next morning, they were perſuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the viſit, which was the principal buſineſs that had brought the Commodore to that city.

The next day the Merchants returned to Mr. *Anſon*, and told him, that the Viceroy was then ſo fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for *Pekin*, that there was no getting admittance to him at preſent; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his Court to give them information, as ſoon as he ſhould be at leiſure, when they propoſed to notify Mr. *Anſon's* arrival, and to endeavour to fix the audience. The Commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falſehood; and had he conſulted only his own judgement, he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands. But the *Chineſe* Merchants had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the Supercargoes of our ſhips with chimerical fears, that they, the Supercargoes, were extremely apprehenſive of being embroiled with the Government, and of ſuffering in their intereſt, if thoſe meaſures were taken which appeared to Mr. *Anſon* at that time to be the moſt prudential: and therefore, leſt the malice and double dealing of the *Chineſe* might have given riſe to ſome ſiniſter incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he reſolved to continue paſſive as long as it ſhould appear that he loſt no time by thus ſuſpending his own opinion. In purſuance of this reſolution, he propoſed to the *Engliſh*, that he would engage not to take any immediate ſtep himſelf for getting admittance to the Viceroy, provided the

the *Chineſe*, who contracted to furniſh his proviſions, would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared, with the utmoſt diſpatch. But, if by the time when all was in readineſs to be ſhipped off, which it was ſuppoſed would be in about forty days, the Merchants ſhould not have procured the government's permiſſion to ſend it on board, then the Commodore was determined to apply to the Viceroy himſelf. Theſe were the terms Mr. *Anſon* thought proper to offer, to quiet the uneaſineſs of the Supercargoes; and, notwithſtanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the *Chineſe* agree to the propoſal till the Commodore had conſented to pay for every article he beſpoke before it was put in hand. However, at laſt, the contract being paſt, it was ſome ſatisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and being himſelf on the ſpot, he took care to haſten them as much as poſſible.

During this interval, in which the ſtores and proviſions were getting ready, the Merchants continually entertained Mr. *Anſon* with accounts of their various endeavours to procure a licence from the Viceroy, and their frequent diſappointments: this was now a matter of amuſement to the Commodore, as he was fully ſatisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they ſaid. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be ſhipped, which was about the 24th of *November*, at which time too the N. E. monſoon was ſet in, he then reſolved to demand an audience of the Viceroy, as he was perſuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permiſſion to take his ſtores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of *November*, therefore, Mr. *Anſon* ſent one of his officers to the *Mandarine*, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of *Canton*, with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the *Mandarine*, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in *Chineſe*, and promiſed that the Viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer, it was not neceſſary he ſhould wait for an anſwer, becauſe a meſſage would be ſent to the Commodore himſelf.

When Mr. *Anſon* firſt determined to write this letter, he had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter,

as he was well aware that none of the *Chineſe*, uſually employed as Linguiſts, could be relied on: but he at laſt prevailed with Mr. *Flint*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke *Chineſe* perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This perſon, who, upon that occaſion and many others, was of ſingular ſervice to the Commodore, had been left at *Canton*, when a youth, by the late Captain *Rigby*. The leaving him there to learn the *Chineſe* language, was a ſtep taken by that Captain, merely from his own perſuaſion of the conſiderable advantages which the *Eaſt-India* Company might one day receive from an *Engliſh* interpreter; and though the utility of this meaſure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this hour imitated: but we imprudently chooſe, except in this ſingle inſtance, to carry on the vaſt tranſactions of the port of *Canton*, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken *Engliſh*, which ſome few of the *Chineſe* have learnt, or by the ſuſpected interpretation of the Linguiſts of other Nations.

Two days after the ſending the abovementioned letter, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of *Canton*. On the firſt alarm, Mr. *Anſon* went thither, with his officers and his boat's crew, to aid the *Chineſe*. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a ſailor's ſhed, and that, by the ſlightneſs of the buildings, and the awkardneſs of the *Chineſe*, it was getting head apace. However, he perceived, that by pulling down ſome of the adjacent ſheds it might eaſily be extinguiſhed; and particularly obſerving it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice: this was preſently attempted, and would have been ſoon executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that as there was no *Mandarine* there, who alone has a power to direct on theſe occaſions, the *Chineſe* would make him, the Commodore, anſwerable for whatever ſhould be pulled down by his command. Hereupon Mr. *Anſon* and his attendants deſiſted; and he ſent them to the *Engliſh* factory, to aſſiſt in ſecuring the Company's treaſure and effects, as it was eaſy to foreſee that no diſtance was a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire, where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it; ſince all the while the *Chineſe* contented themſelves with viewing it, and now and then holding one

of

of their idols near it, which they ſeeemed to expect ſhould check it's progreſs. Indeed, at laſt, a *Mandarine* came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: theſe made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by that time the fire had greatly extended itſelf, and was got amongſt the Merchants warehouſes; and the *Chineſe* firemen, wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were incapable of checking its violence; ſo that its fury increaſed upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be deſtroyed. In this general confuſion, the Viceroy himſelf came thither, and the Commodore was ſent to, and was entreated to afford his aſſiſtance, being told that he might take any meaſures he ſhould think moſt prudent in the preſent emergency. Upon this meſſage, he went thither a ſecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, in the ſight of the whole city, exerted themſelves after ſo extraordinary a manner, as in that country was altogether without example; for, behaving with the agility and boldneſs peculiar to ſailors, they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings amongſt which they wrought; whence it was not uncommon to ſee the moſt forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, amidſt the ruins of houſes which their own efforts brought down under them. By their reſolution and activity the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, to the amazement of the *Chineſe:* and it fortunately happened too, that the buildings being all one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, eſcaped with no other injuries than ſome conſiderable bruiſes.

The fire, though at laſt thus luckily extinguiſhed, did great miſchief during the time it continued; for it conſumed a hundred ſhops and eleven ſtreets full of warehouſes, ſo that the damage amounted to an immenſe ſum; and one of the *Chineſe* Merchants, well known to the *Engliſh*, whoſe name was *Succoy*, was ſuppoſed, for his own ſhare, to have loſt near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. It raged indeed with unuſual violence; for in many of the warehouſes there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which blazed up into the air to ſuch a prodigious height, that it was diſtinctly ſeen on board the *Centurion*, though ſhe was at leaſt thirty miles diſtant.

W..ſt

Whilſt the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of it's becoming general ſtill poſſeſſed the whole city, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable *Chineſe* Merchants came to Mr. *Anſon*, to deſire that he would let each of them have one of his ſoldiers (for ſuch they ſtiled his boat's crew, from the uniformity of their dreſs) to guard their warehouſes and dwelling houſes, which, from the known diſhoneſty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. *Anſon* granted them this requeſt; and all the men that he thus furniſhed behaved much to the ſatisfaction of the Merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the reſolution of the *Engliſh* in maſtering the fire, and their truſty and prudent conduct where they were employed as ſafeguards, was the general ſubject of converſation amongſt the *Chineſe*. And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore, to thank him for his aſſiſtance; frankly owning to him, that he had preſerved their city from being totally conſumed, as they could never have extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves. Soon after too a meſſage came to the Commodore from the Viceroy, appointing the 30th of *November* for his audience; which ſudden reſolution of the Viceroy, in a matter that had been ſo long agitated in vain, was alſo owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr. *Anſon* and his people at the fire, of which the Viceroy himſelf had been in ſome meaſure an eye-witneſs.

The fixing this buſineſs of the audience was, on every account, a circumſtance with which Mr. *Anſon* was much pleaſed; ſince he was ſatisfied the *Chineſe* Government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themſelves to give up their pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reaſonably aſk; for, as they well knew the Commodore's ſentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not conſiſtent with their refined cunning, to have admitted him to an audience only to have conteſted with him. Being therefore himſelf perfectly eaſy about the reſult of his viſit, he made the neceſſary preparations againſt the day; and engaged Mr. *Flint*, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference, and Mr. *Flint*, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himſelf much to the Commodore's ſatisfaction; repeating with great boldneſs, and doubtleſs with exactneſs, whatever was given him in charge;

where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the Viceroy himſelf was not to be preſent, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the ſame manner as at his arrival; only on his leaving the city he was ſaluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at laſt finiſhed this troubleſome affair, which for the preceding four months had given him much diſquietude. Indeed he was highly pleaſed with procuring a licence for the ſhipping off his ſtores and proviſions; as thereby he was enabled to return to *Great-Britain* with the firſt of the monſoons, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: but this, though a very important point, was not the circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent eſtabliſhed on this occaſion, by which his Majeſty's ſhips of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of *China*.

In purſuance of the promiſes of the Viceroy, the proviſions were begun to be ſent on board the day ſucceeding the audience; and, four days after, the Commodore embarked at *Canton* for the *Centurion*. And now all the preparations for putting to ſea were purſued with ſo much vigilance, and were ſo ſoon completed, that the 7th of *December* the *Centurion* and her prize unmoored, and ſtood down the river, paſſing through the *Bocca Tigris* on the 10th. On this occaſion, I muſt obſerve that the *Chineſe* had taken care to man the two forts, on each ſide of that paſſage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greateſt part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muſkets. Theſe garriſons affected to ſhew themſelves as much as poſſible to the ſhips, and were doubtleſs intended to induce Mr. *Anſon* to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the *Chineſe* military power: for this purpoſe they were equipped with extraordinary parade, having a great number of colours expoſed to view; and on the caſtle in particular there was laid conſiderable heaps of large ſtones; and a ſoldier of unuſual ſize, dreſſed in very ſightly armour, ſtalked about on the parapet with a battle axe in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as poſſible, though ſome of the obſervers on board the *Centurion* ſhrewdly ſuſpected, from the appearance of his armour, that inſtead of

ſteel it was compoſed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The *Centurion* and her prize being now without the river of *Canton*, and conſequently upon the point of leaving the *Chineſe* juriſdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the *Chineſe* affairs, to ſubjoin a few remarks on the diſpoſition and genius of that celebrated people. And though it may be ſuppoſed, that obſervations made at *Canton* only, a place ſituated in a corner of the Empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general concluſions; yet as thoſe who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepoſſeſſions, and as the tranſactions of Mr. *Anſon* with the Regency of *Canton* were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumſtances occurred different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflexions, many of them drawn from theſe incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the *Chineſe* are a very ingenious and induſtrious people, is ſufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are eagerly ſought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but, though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt valuable qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond-rate kind; for they are much outdone by the *Japaneſe* in thoſe manufactures which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous inſtances incapable of rivaling the mechanic dexterity of the *Europeans*. Indeed, their principal excellence ſeems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, *&c.* for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabric as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. If we paſs from thoſe employed in manufactures to artiſts of a ſuperior claſs, as painters, ſtatuaries, *&c.* in theſe matters they ſeem to be ſtill more defective; their painters, though very numerous and in great eſteem, rarely ſucceeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compoſitions; and though

though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in theſe, ſome part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours, than to the ſkill of the painter; ſince it is very unuſual to ſee the light and ſhade juſtly and naturally handled, or to find that eaſe and grace in the drawing which are to be met with in the works of *European* artiſts. In ſhort, there is a ſtiffneſs and minuteneſs in moſt of the *Chineſe* productions, which are extremely diſpleaſing: and it may perhaps be truly aſſerted, that theſe defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongſt whom nothing great or ſpirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the *Chineſe* literature (taking our accounts from the writers who have endeavoured to repreſent it in the moſt favourable light), we ſhall find, that on this head their obſtinacy and abſurdity are moſt wonderful; ſince though, for many ages, they have been ſurrounded by nations to whom the uſe of letters was familiar, yet they, the *Chineſe*, alone have hitherto neglected to avail themſelves of that almoſt divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of repreſenting words by arbitrary marks; a method which neceſſarily renders the numbers of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwiſe than partially ſkilled; whilſt all reading and underſtanding of what is written is attended with infinite obſcurity and confuſion; as the connexion between theſe marks and the words they repreſent cannot be retained in books, but muſt be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: and how uncertain this muſt prove in ſuch a complicated ſubject, is ſufficiently obvious to thoſe who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo when they are tranſmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is eaſy to conclude, that the hiſtory and inventions of paſt ages, recorded by theſe perplexed ſymbols, muſt frequently prove unintelligible; and conſequently the learning and boaſted antiquity of the nation muſt, in numerous inſtances, be extremely problematical.

However, we are told by many of the Miſſionaries, that though the ſkill of the *Chineſe* in ſcience is confeſſedly much inferior to that of the *Europeans*, yet the morality and juſtice taught and practiſed by them are moſt exemplary:

ſo that, from the deſcription given by ſome of theſe good fathers, one ſhould be induced to believe, that the whole Empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only conteſts were, who ſhould exert the moſt humanity and ſocial virtue. But our preceding relation of the behaviour of the Magiſtrates, Merchants, and Tradeſmen at *Canton*, ſufficiently refutes theſe jeſuitical fictions. Beſides, as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the ſpecimens exhibited in the works of the Miſſionaries, we ſhall find them frequently employed in recommending a ridiculous attachment to certain frivolous points, inſtead of diſcuſſing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another on reaſonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretenſion of the *Chineſe* to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but ſolely on the affected evenneſs of their demeanor, and their conſtant attention to ſuppreſs all ſymptoms of paſſion and violence. But it muſt be conſidered, that hypocriſy and fraud are often not leſs miſchievous to the general intereſts of mankind, than impetuoſity and vehemence of temper: ſince theſe, though uſually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude ſincerity, benevolence, reſolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the *Chineſe*, on which they ſo much value themſelves, and which diſtinguiſhes the nation from all others, is in reality the ſource of the moſt exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often obſerved, by thoſe who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robuſt and violent paſſions, without augmenting, at the ſame time, the force of the ſelfiſh ones: ſo that the timidity, diſſimulation, and diſhoneſty of the *Chineſe* may, in ſome ſort, be owing to the compoſure and external decency ſo univerſally prevailing in this Empire.

Thus much for the general diſpoſition of the people: but I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without adding a few words about the *Chineſe* Government, that too having been the ſubject of boundleſs panegyric. And on this head I muſt obſerve, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs are ſufficiently confuted by their tranſactions with Mr.

Mr. *Anſon*; as we have ſeen that their Magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, and their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor is the conſtitution of the Empire, or the general order of the State, leſs liable to exception; ſince that form of Government, which does not in the firſt place provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterprizes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution; and yet this populous, this rich and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by a handful of *Tartars*; and even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed not only to the attempts of any potent State, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already obſerved, on occaſion of the Commodore's diſputes with the *Chineſe*, that the *Centurion* alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that Empire: this perhaps may appear an extraordinary poſition; but, to render it unqueſtionable, there is exhibited in the forty-ſecond plate the draught of two of the veſſels made uſe of by the *Chineſe*. The firſt of theſe, marked (A), is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tons burthen, and was what the *Centurion* hove down by; theſe are moſt uſed in the great rivers, though they ſometimes ſerve for ſmall coaſting voyages; the other junk, marked (B) is about two hundred and eighty tons burthen, and is of the ſame form with thoſe in which they trade to *Cochinchina*, *Manila*, *Batavia*, and *Japan*, though ſome of their trading veſſels are of a much larger ſize; its head, which is repreſented at (C), is perfectly flat; and, when the veſſel is deep laden, the ſecond or third plank of this flat ſurface is oftentimes under water. The maſts, ſails, and rigging, of theſe veſſels are ruder than the built; for their maſts are made of trees, no otherwiſe faſhioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each maſt has only two ſhrouds of twiſted rattan, which are often both ſhifted to the weather-ſide; and the halyard, when the yard is up, ſerves inſtead of a third ſhroud. The ſails are of mat, ſtrengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run up the maſt with hoops, as repreſented in the figure, and when they are lowered down they fold upon the deck. Theſe traders carry no cannon; and it appears, from this whole deſcription, that they are utterly incapable of reſiſting any *European* armed veſſel.

veſſel. Nor is the State provided with ſhips of conſiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect their merchantmen; for at *Canton*, where doubtleſs their principal naval power is ſtationed, we ſaw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burthen, being of the make already deſcribed, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largeſt of which did not exceed a four pounder. This may ſuffice to give an idea of the defenceleſs ſtate of the *Chineſe* Empire: but it is time to return to the Commodore, whom I left with his two ſhips without the *Bocca Tigris*, and who, on the 12th of *December*, anchored before the town of *Macao*.

While the ſhips lay here, the merchants of *Macao* finiſhed their purchaſe of the galeon, for which they refuſed to give more than 6000 dollars; this was greatly ſhort of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to ſea, to which the merchants were no ſtrangers, prompted them to inſiſt on theſe unequal terms. Mr. *Anſon* had learnt enough from the *Engliſh* at *Canton* to conjecture, that the war with *Spain* was ſtill continued; and that probably the *French* might engage in the aſſiſtance of *Spain* before he could arrive in *Great Britain*; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to *Europe* of the prize he had taken, and the treaſure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from *Canton*, he was reſolved to make all poſſible expedition in getting back, that he might be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: for theſe reaſons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the ſum offered for the galeon; and ſhe being delivered to the merchants the 15th of *December*, 1743, the *Centurion*, the ſame day, got under ſail, on her return to *England*. On the 3d of *January*, ſhe came to anchor at *Prince's Iſland* in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when ſhe weighed and ſtood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, where, on the 11th of *March*, ſhe anchored in *Table-bay*.

The Cape of Good Hope is ſituated in a temperate climate, where the exceſſes of heat and cold are rarely known; and the *Dutch* inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native induſtry, have ſtocked it with prodigious plenty of all ſorts of fruits and proviſions; moſt of which, either from the equality of the ſeaſons, or the peculiarity of the

the ſoil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elſewhere; ſo that by theſe, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this ſettlement is the beſt provided of any in the known world, for the refreſhment of ſeamen after long voyages. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of *April*, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthineſs of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, the whole enlivened too by the addition of a civilized colony, was not diſgraced on a compariſon with the vallies of *Juan Fernandes* and the lawns of *Tinian*. During his ſtay, he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3d of *April*, 1744, completed his water and proviſion, he, on that day weighed and put to ſea. The 19th of *April* they ſaw the Iſland of *St. Helena*, which, however, they did not touch at, but ſtood on their way; and, arriving in ſoundings about the beginning of *June*, they on the 10th of that month ſpoke with an *Engliſh* ſhip bound for *Philadelphia*, from whom they received the firſt intelligence of a *French* war. By the 12th of *June* they got ſight of the *Lizard*; and the 15th in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came ſafe to an anchor at *Spithead*. But, that the ſignal perils, which had ſo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterpriſe, might purſue them to the very laſt, Mr. *Anſon* learnt, on his arrival, that there was a *French* fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the channel, which, from the account of their poſition, he found the *Centurion* had ran through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, ſtrongly evinced this important truth, That, though prudence intrepidity, and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune; yet, in a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and, in the end, rarely fail of being ſucceſsful.

FINIS.

Advertiſement.

THE Plates in the Quarto Edition being too numerous and large to be folded in this ſmall Volume, it has been thought proper to inſert only two Charts, of the moſt general Uſe, together with an additional Chart, ſhewing the Track of the *Centurion* round the World: but the Reader is deſired to take Notice, that the References to all the Plates are continued in this Edition; and complete Sets of them are ſold at 7 *s.* each, in Boards.

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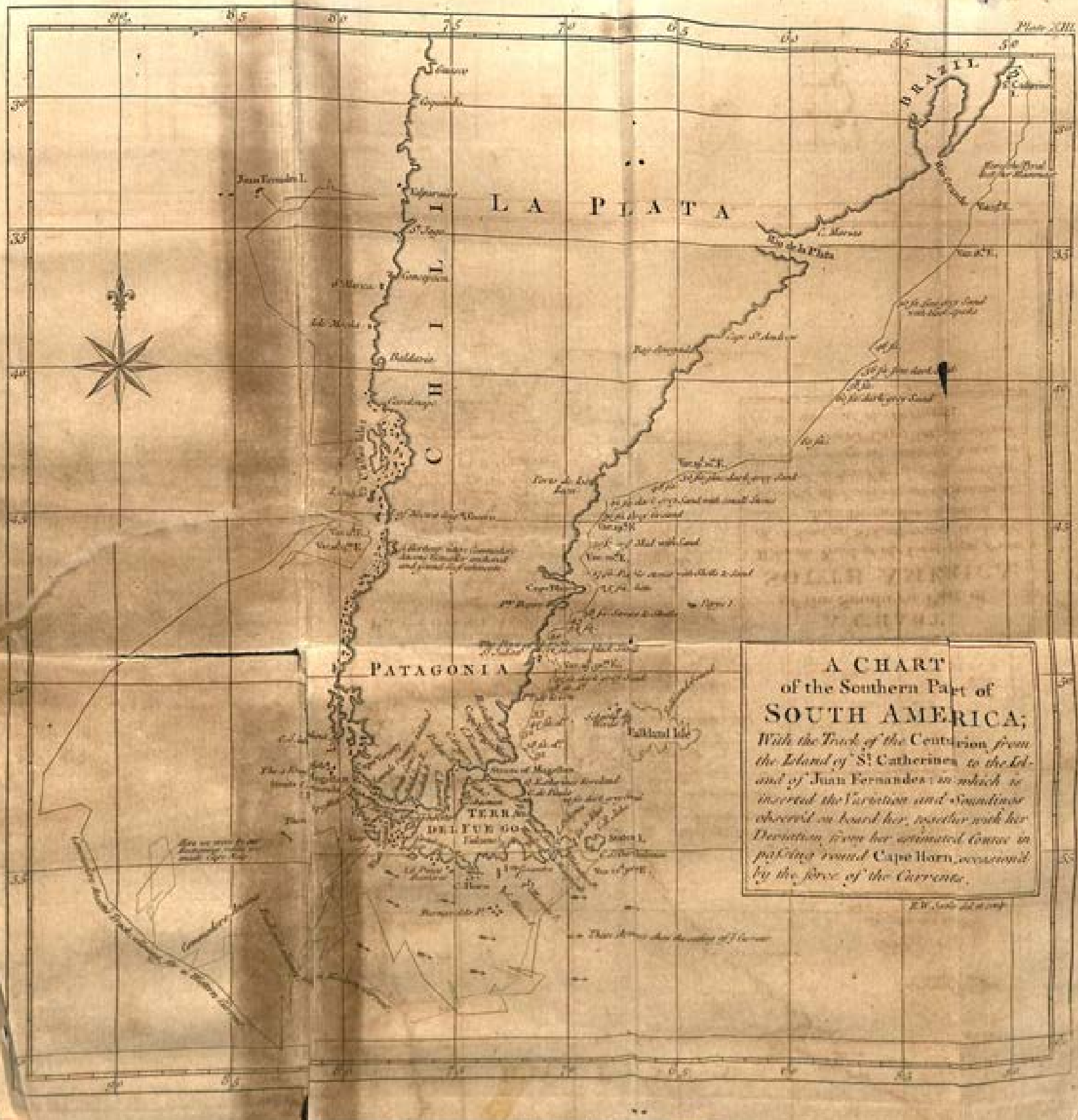
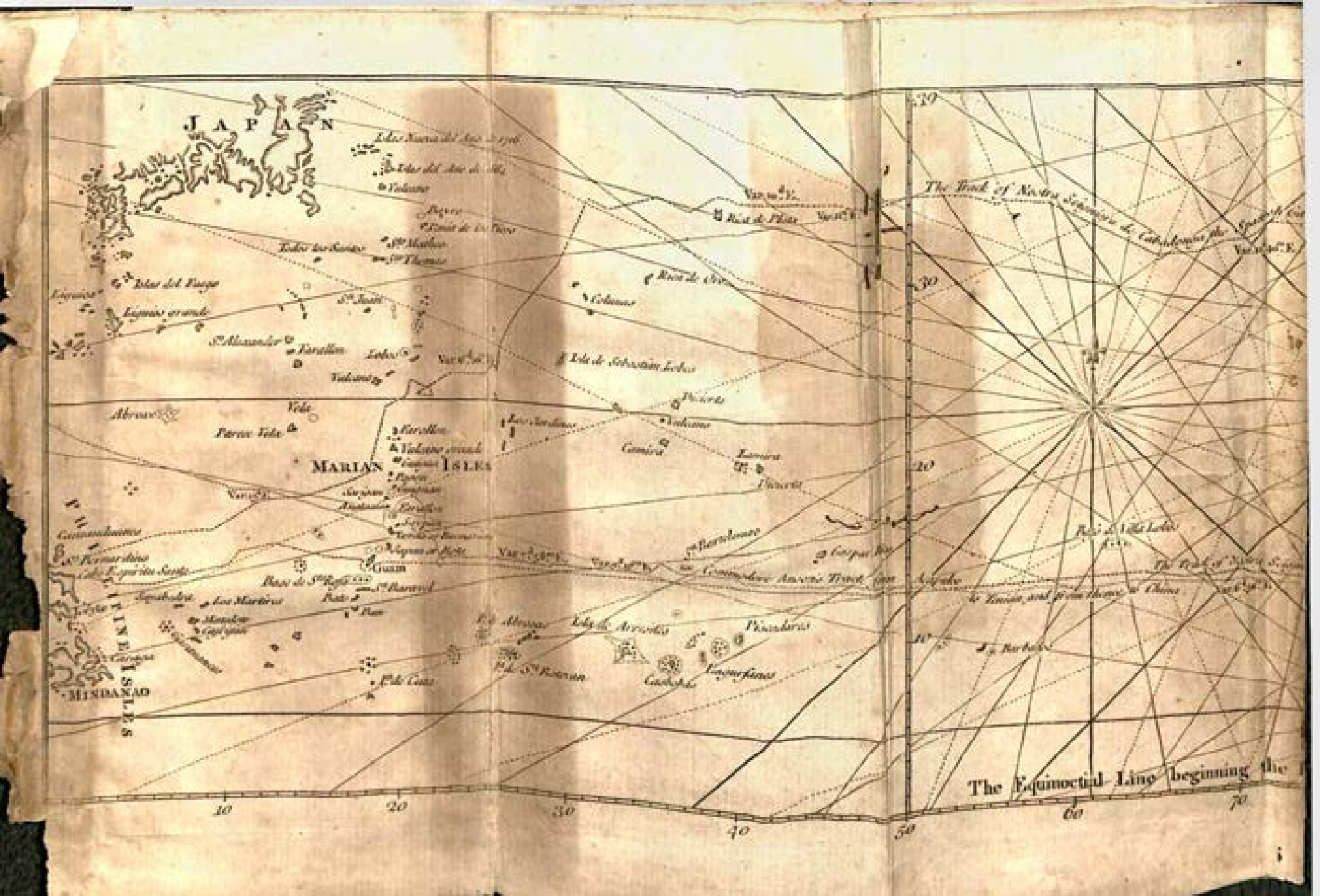


Plate XIII.
BRAZIL
LA PLATA
CHILI
PATAGONIA
TERRA DEL FUEGO
Falkland Isle
Juan Fernandez I.
A CHART
of the Southern Part of
SOUTH AMERICA;
With the Track of the Centurion from the Island of St. Catherines to the Island of Juan Fernandez: in which is inserted the Variation and Soundings observed on board her, together with her Deviation from her estimated Course in passing round Cape Horn occasioned by the force of the Currents.


JAPAN
MARIAN ISLES
PHILIPPINE ISLES
MINDANAO
Guam
The Equinoctial Line beginning the
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90

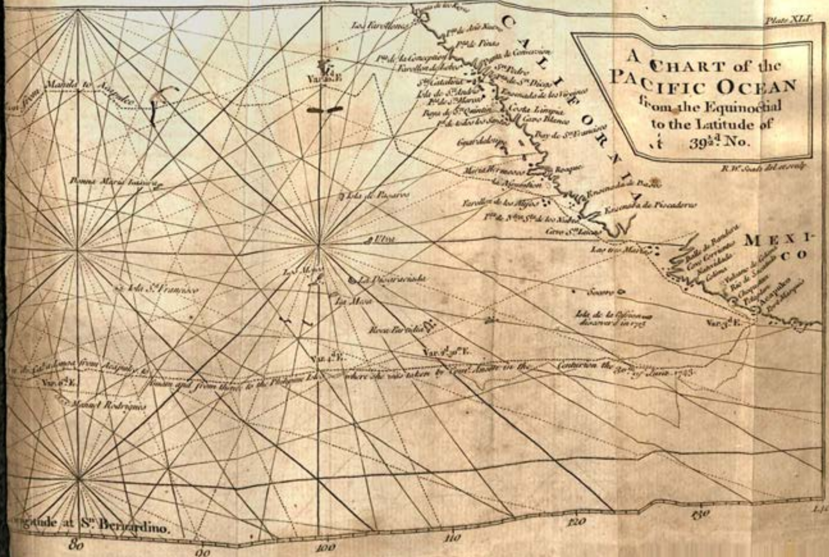


Plate XLI.
A CHART of the
PACIFIC OCEAN
from the Equinoctial
to the Latitude of
39½d. No.
R.W. Seale del. et sculp.
CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
Los Farellones
Farellon de los Alijos
Costa Lingua
Cape Blanco
Guadalupe
Ensenada de Piscaderas
Las tres Marias
Socorro
Isla de Pajaros
Isla Sn. Francisco
Roca Partida
Manuel Rodrigues
Acapulco
Var. 3d. E.
Var. 4d. E.
Var. 6d. E.
at Sn. Bernardino.
80
90
100
110
120
130
140

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